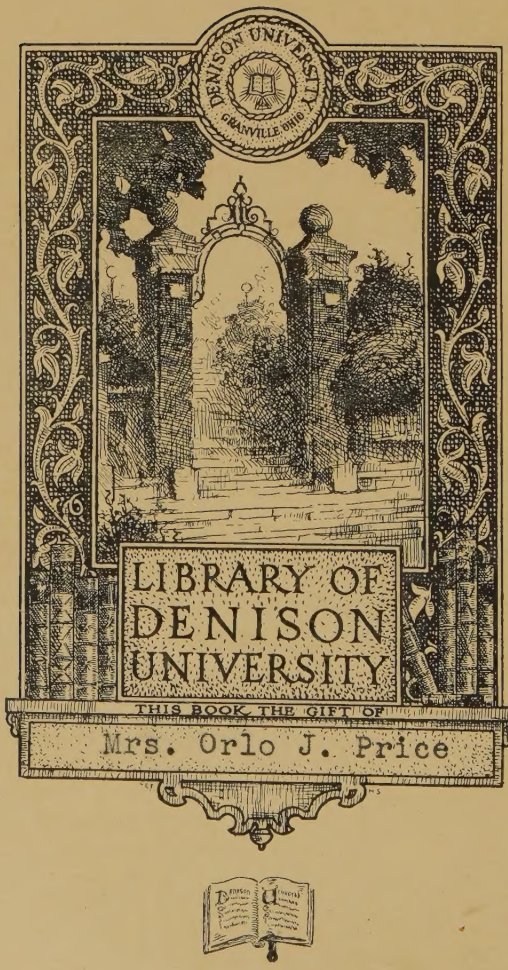
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Ten Epochs of Church History

Edited by

John Fulton, D.D., LL.D.

Vol. IV.

Ten Epochs of Church History

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE

(CHARLES THE GREAT)

BY

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TO MY FATHER AND MOTHER
AND TO MY TEACHER IN CHURCH HISTORY
A. V. G. ALLEN
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CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE xi

BIBLIOGRAPHY xv

CHAP. I.—The Age of Charles the Great—The Church—The State—Christianity and Learning 1

CHAP. II.—Rome and her Legacy to the New Peoples of the West 8

CHAP. III.—The Organization of Christianity and the Origin of the Papacy—The Inheritance of the Church 14

CHAP. IV.—The Conquest of the Empire by the German Tribes—The Foundation of the Frankish Monarchy—The Inheritance of the German People 25

CHAP. V.—The Merovingian Monarchy—Elements of Feudalism—Mayors of the Palace 34

CHAP. VI.—Christianity and the Church among the Early Franks—Conversion of Clovis—The Bishops 43

CHAP. VII.—The Spread of Christianity—Monasticism—Missionaries, Irish, Scotch, and English 51

CHAP. VIII.—The New Powers and Great Purposes of the Mayors of the Palace—Charles Martel and the Church—Foundation of Feudalism 58

CHAP. IX.—Boniface, the "Apostle of Germany"—The Conversion of the Eastern Germans—Organization of the Frankish Church—Union with Rome 68

CHAP. X.—Iconoclasm and the Papacy—The Development of the Veneration of Saints, Relics, and Images—The Emperor Leo III. and the Iconoclastic Edicts—Pope Gregory II. and the Situation in Italy—The Eve of Revolt 80

CHAP. XI.—Italy and the Papacy—The Ostrogothic Kingdom—The Lombards—Liutprand and Gregory II. 91

PAGE

CHAP. XII.—Gregory III.—The Lombards and the Franks—Boniface and the Organization of the Frankish Church—Early Synods—Relations with Rome 101

CHAP. XIII.—Karlmann and Pippin, the Sons of Charles Martel—King Childeric III.—Retirement to a Monastery of Karlmann, Childeric, and Rachis, King of the Lombards—Coronation of Pippin as King of the Franks 110

CHAP. XIV.—Relations of the Papacy with the Lombards and with the Emperor, from the Time of Gregory II. to the Death of Zacharias 123

CHAP. XV.—Relations of the Papacy with the Lombards and with the Franks—Overthrow of the Exarchate by the Lombards—The Pope Crosses the Alps—The Donation of Pippin—The Papal Consecration of Pippin and his Sons as Kings of the Franks and Patricians of the Romans 131

CHAP. XVI.—The Victory of Pippin over Aistulf—Lombard Treachery—The Sack of Rome—The Papal Appeal—St. Peter's Letter—Second Victory of the Franks—Pippin's Donation—The Republic of Rome—The Temporal Power of the Pope—Death of Aistulf—Accession of Desiderius—Renewed Difficulties 140

CHAP. XVII.—The Final Struggle of the Lombards—The Forged Donation of Constantine—The Frankish Conquest of Aquitania—The Aquitanian Capitulary—Establishment of the Frankish Church and the Diocesan and Metropolitan System—Pippin's Relations with Constantinople and with Bagdad 155

CHAP. XVIII.—The Work of Pippin—His Death—Division of the Kingdom between Charles and Karlmann—Revolt of the Aquitanians—Frankish Alliance with the Lombards—Death of Karlmann—Charles Sole King—The Subjugation and Conversion of Saxony—Early Saxon Missionaries 166

CHAP. XIX.—The Lombard Marriages—Repudiation of his Lombard Wife by Charles—Pope Hadrian and the Lombard War—Conquest of the Lombards—Charles Enters Rome—King of the Lombards—The Second Donation to the Pope—Additional Powers as Patrician—Pope Leo and his Accusers—The Oath before Charles—Coronation of Charles 190

CHAP. XX.—Frankish Accounts of the Coronation—The Act

PAGE

of the Pope—Three Theories—The Attitude of Charles—Relations with Constantinople—Renewal and Transfer—Two Emperors and Two Empires—Idea of a World Empire in Union with the Church 208

CHAP. XXI.—Theories Underlying the Coronation—Closer Relations with the Papacy—The Old Testament Ideal—Augustine's City of God—The General Admonition—Secular and Ecclesiastical Administration—The Spanish Campaign—Downfall of the Duke of the Bavarians—Submission of the Duke of Benevento—The Conquest of the Avars 221

CHAP. XXII.—Imperial Administration—Central and Local Government—The Missi—The Assemblies—The Capitularies 240

CHAP. XXIII.—Theological Controversies—Image Worship—Adoptianism—The Filioque Clause—"Veni Creator Spiritus" 259

CHAP. XXIV.—Political Importance of Ecclesiastical Officers—The Metropolitanate—Ecclesiastical Regulations and Reform—Chrodegang and the Canonical Life—Benedict of Aniane and Monasticism—The Supremacy of the Roman Church—The Model 273

CHAP. XXV.—Closing Years—Attempt at Consolidation—Foreign Relations—Later Wars—Distribution of Kingdoms—Death of the Older Sons, Pippin and Charles—Last Will—Election and Coronation of Louis as Co-emperor—Death of Charles the Great—Canonization—Special Collect for his Day, January 28—The Great Work which He Accomplished 288

CHAP. XXVI.—Intellectual Life and Development—The Dark Ages—Influence of Monasticism—Learning in England—Benedict Biscop—Archbishop Theodore—Hadrian—Bede—Alcuin—The Library at York 303

CHAP. XXVII.—Meeting of Charles and Alcuin—The Palace School—Alcuin's Methods of Instruction—Cathedral Schools—Alcuin Abbot of Tours 322

CHAP. XXVIII.—Irish Learning—St. Patrick—Columbanus—Irish Missions and Monasteries on the Continent—Irish Scholars at the Court of Charles—Opposition of Alcuin—Death of Alcuin 343

CHAP. XXIX.—Larger Development under Louis the Pious—

PAGE

The Scholars of Fulda—Rabanus Maurus and Servatus Lupus—The Great Reformers—Agobard of Lyons and Claudius of Turin—Paschasius Radbertus and the Doctrine of Transubstantiation—John Scotus Erigena—Gottschalk and the Predestination Controversy 352

CHAP. XXX.—Accession of Louis the Pious—Weakness of the Imperial Unity—Relations with the Papacy—Regulation of the Empire—Introduction of Primogeniture—Humiliation of Louis 374

CHAP. XXXI.—Birth of Charles the Bald—Disorder in Italy—The Roman Constitution—The Two Parties—Rebellion of Lothair—The Field of Lies—Deposition of Louis—Restoration—Reconciliation of Lothair—Death of Louis—Battle of Fontenay—The Strassburg Oaths—Treaty of Verdun—Fall of the Empire 391

CHAP. XXXII.—Christian Missions and Missionaries—Ebbo and the Danes—Ansgar and the Swedes—Olaf and the Norwegians—Methodius and the Moravians—Secularization of the Bishops—Political Influence and Dependence—Feudal Relations—Reform Movements 415

CHAP. XXXIII.—Ecclesiastical Legislation and the Constitution of the Church in the Ninth Century—The Forged Decretals—Origin—Date—Place—Object—Contents—Use—Later History 423

CHAP. XXXIV.—The Height of the Papacy—Nicholas I.—Hadrian II.—John VIII.—End of the Carolingian Line in Italy—In Germany—In France—Degradation of the Papacy 452

PREFACE.

THE previous volumes in this series have found their scene of action in the East. It is never to be forgotten that Christianity had its origin in the East, among an Eastern and Semitic people, and that the language of its early teachers and documents, and, with two or three exceptions, of its literature, for three or four centuries, the formulas of its faith, its theological discussions and the decisions of its councils, were all in Greek. Even the Church of Rome and most of the churches of the West were, at the first, as Milman strikingly says, "Greek religious colonies." With a consideration of the age of Charles the Great the scene changes to the West, and we are called upon to witness the handing over of the treasured possessions of the Roman empire, law, language, civilization, and ideals, to new peoples, the German tribes under the leadership of the Franks; the development of a Latin Christianity; the building up of the great Latin Church; and the laying of the foundations of the middle ages and of modern times.

It would be impossible to treat adequately of these extensive subjects in so brief a compass as that afforded by the pages of this volume. Many of the

topics I have not attempted to touch. I have tried to bring into clearer light some of the more obscure though most important features of the period, and to show the deeper relations which underlie the chief events of the history of the church and of its connections with the political history.

In the introduction to his "Life of Alcuin" Lorenz has said very justly: "The age of Charles the Great is more celebrated than known, and the founder of the new Romano-Germanic Empire has found more panegyrists than historians." In the following pages I have tried to be the historian rather than the panegyrist, and to present facts rather than to indulge in rhetoric.

While conscious, all the time, of writing for many who will have no time to pursue the history further, I have endeavored, by going deeply enough into the subjects I have considered, to make the book of value to those who desire already, or to those in whom, I hope, it may inspire a desire, to continue the study and to make investigations for themselves.

I have let the sources speak for themselves as far as possible, not only in order to be more accurate, but also because thereby a greater vividness and reality could be assured.

I have dealt largely with the political side of the subject, as the title requires and as the nature of the history demands.

The growth of the Papacy, especially of its temporal power and possessions, forms one of the most important topics of the period. In this connection the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals have been treated at

great length, on account of the interest and importance attaching to the subject, and because a good deal of confusion still exists as to their history and contents. They form an admirable commentary on the church history of the ninth century.

I desire to acknowledge my special indebtedness to the work of Waitz on the whole subject; to that of Hinschius on the Forged Decretals; and particularly to that of Mullinger on the intellectual life of the period. As the latter book is out of print and the others are in foreign languages, the large use made of them is perhaps more excusable. Dr. Mombert, by a personal letter and by his most comprehensive work on Charles the Great, has rendered much assistance.

I am allowed to quote, in closing, the words of Dr. Noah K. Davis of the University of Virginia in the preface to his book, "The Theory of Thought": "If on the whole it is a good book, it will live and be useful; if not it will die, the sooner the better."

CHARLES L. WELLS.

MINNEAPOLIS, December 4, 1897.

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CHAPTER I.

THE AGE OF CHARLES THE GREAT—THE CHURCH —THE STATE—CHRISTIANITY AND LEARNING.

THE division of history into epochs and periods, while presenting many advantages for the purpose of detailed study and of careful comparison, is, at the same time, attended with disadvantages and dangers, so that it needs some explanation, if not defence, at the outset. The stream of time, whose events, together with their record, constitute what we call history, is one and continuous. Yet divisions may be made and differences noted, if they are not made too hard and fast, too definite and mechanical.

Two cautions must be borne in mind. First, that not all the movements of a period end in that period; some must have begun, and all must have their ground or motive, in a preceding one, and some will reach the crisis of their development only in a later period. Secondly, a period is not of the same continuous character throughout; it is full of movement, an ebb and flow like the tide, a rise and fall like the barometer, a waxing and waning like the moon.

Yet without doubt each period has its one great movement, with a beginning, a progress, a crisis, and a fall or change into some other; and, taking up a single movement, one may mark, more or less definitely, its limits in time.

In the same way some one great personality dominates or at least guides and moulds the development of a long period in history; preceding years or centuries seem to have prepared for his coming, and succeeding ones are filled with his spirit and with the influence of the forces which he has set in motion. In a supreme degree this is true of Jesus Christ, and the modern world has recognized it by dividing history into two great periods, one before, one after, his birth, and still proclaims that we live *anno Domini*. In a less degree we may speak of the age of some great man, meaning the period of his influence, or of the movements of events with which his name is identified, though it begins before his birth and does not end until after his death.

All this is particularly true of Charles, King of the Franks, and later Emperor of the West, of whom Joseph de Maistre has so well said, "This man is so truly great that greatness has been incorporated in his very name"—Charles the Great, or, as the French like to call him, Charlemagne.[1] It may be understood, therefore, in what sense we speak of the age of Charles the Great, though the empire in which

[1] The surname "Great" was his from the middle of the ninth century. The name "Charlemagne" is a later and misleading French corruption of "Carolus Magnus." See Mombert, pp. iii., 502; Waitz, vol. iii., p. 101, note 1, p. 648.

that greatness centred broke up soon after his hold upon it was relaxed. This is recognized also in what is a most unusual procedure, the calling his line of ancestors after his own name, as though they were his children instead of his fathers. The line is known to all history as the Carolingian,[1] though it came into prominence in the seventh century in the person of Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, whose son married the daughter of Pippin of Landen, a mayor of the palace, by whom he became the father of Pippin of Heristal, the conqueror of Testry in 687 and father of Charles Martel, who was born a year or two afterwards and was the grandfather of Charles the Great.

The age of Charles the Great lies between the two dark centuries, the seventh and the tenth, the results of the earlier and of the later barbarian invasions. With the eleventh century a new life begins, and the period ecclesiastically is rightly named the Hildebrandine era.

These dates mark not only ecclesiastical, but political and intellectual divisions. The period began with the first appearance in action of those ideas and principles which reached a crisis in the life and work of Charles himself, and ended when that movement waned and ceased, or passed into other hands and under other forms and influences. It is because these ideas and principles are so varied and so fundamental, and their influences so far-reaching, that the age of

1 "Carlovingian" is a corrupt form devised in the middle ages as analogous to "Merovingian," from Merovius, the reputed founder of the preceding dynasty. See Martin, vol. ii., p. 230, note 1.

Charles the Great is so long and so important, so interesting and so instructive.

The church, already having put on monarchical forms, moulded and influenced by the close connection with the civil power brought about when Constantine declared Christianity the established religion of the empire, had rapidly increased in power and extent. This power in growing had become centralized, first in four or five patriarchates, then in two, Rome and Constantinople. The struggle between these two was already on when Mahometanism arose and appeared to suspend it, but it was Mahometanism that decided it.[1]

One by one the churches of the East were lost, and in no new direction could the Patriarch of Constantinople reach out after more. The growth and victories of the future were with the Pope of Rome. New peoples were converted and owned his sway, his spiritual influence reached wherever Christianity was known, and a temporal sovereignty began in and about the city which he had many times defended by the inspiration of religious awe and by shrewd diplomacy, and had so stamped with his spirit as to make it his own. He took the foremost of these new peoples, converted them to Christianity, changed the line of their kings, and made them the instruments of the spirit of a new hierarchical organization far beyond the fondest fancy of the East, the very home of absolutism and of priestcraft.

Slowly he gained his independence of the Roman emperor, brought about the separation of nearly all

[1] Matter, vol. ii., p. 69.

of what remained of the imperial possessions in the West, created a new empire, and crowned its emperors. On the basis of his own enlarged possessions he established the States of the Church and the beginning of the temporal power of the Papacy, at once the fulcrum of its mighty influence and the stumbling-block of its spiritual greatness, the last of its powers to be fully attained and the first to be completely lost.

The various tribes and kingdoms were brought under the rule of one controlling people, the Franks; a new and stronger race of kings arose from ancestors who had fought for unity and won it, who had driven back the threatening wave of Mahometan invasion from the South and thus saved Europe to Christianity and to Aryan civilization, who had subdued the savage barbarism of the North and thus made possible the spread of Christianity to the boundaries of the northern sea. As trustees for the modern world, they had received the treasures of Roman civilization from the trembling hands of the aged and decrepit empire, worn out by its labors and excesses, and now too impotent to use or even to hold them any longer. A new empire was founded, in which the peoples of the West might realize their common origin and relationship and the great responsibilities and hopes awaiting them in the future.

The vision was realized for less than half a century; the central power was one in name rather than in fact; and it was left for feudalism to preserve all that was strong and lasting and true, to protect it from the disintegrating forces of barbarian invasion and the

consequent weakness and confusion, and finally to hand it over to the monarchies of the later middle ages and the newly forming nationalities of the modern world.

The great missionary enterprises were begun, although their greatest and most lasting victories were not won until a later period. Monasteries were founded, not as places of refuge for idle contemplation and selfish asceticism, but as centres of living, active force, true oases in the deserts of the barbarism of western and of northern Europe, lights shining in a dark place, leaven hid in the meal, spreading their influences far and wide, teaching, by practical example, a higher life, nobler purposes, and loftier ideals, and directly helping others to their attainment.

Seeds of learning, saved from the schools of Greece and Rome by Irish and English scholars, were sown in the newly founded royal and ecclesiastical schools; intellectual life and learning were fostered and encouraged.

Through and above it all, a great, far-seeing mind, a brave and wise spirit, a noble and illustrious conqueror, the mighty emperor Charles the Great, who knew and builded much, and yet builded wiser than he knew; whose work seemed to be lost in the division of the inheritance and the weakness of the inheritors, but, though his empire was divided, his schools closed, his monasteries devastated, and the Papacy, which he did so much to strengthen and to build up, plunged into the lowest depths of corruption, yet the treasure was not diminished, though di-

vided and given into other hands; was not ruined, though marred and mutilated; was not lost, though for a time covered and concealed. The work which he did, and which his principles wrought out in his age, made possible the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the nations of modern Europe.

CHAPTER II.

ROME AND HER LEGACY TO THE NEW PEOPLES OF THE WEST.

WHEN Charles, afterwards called the Great, succeeded his father Pippin in the leadership of the German peoples with the title of King of the Franks, nearly three centuries had elapsed since the last Roman emperor had ruled in Italy, and about the same time since the Franks had come into prominence and notice under their leader Clovis. During these three centuries events of momentous significance had occurred.

Rome had been doing for the West, in her own way and to the best of her ability, that which Greece had originated and carried on with such genius and glory. The elements of learning and of civilization, already existing in the East, Greece had taken up, stamped with her own genius and grace, developed to high conditions of beauty and excellence, and moulded into forms of surpassing purity and power. Rome had received this art and learning, this wonderful civilization, and although in her hands it lost some of its grace and beauty, she gave it greater

strength and force by her order, discipline, organization, government, and laws.

Greece colonized, but Rome conquered and governed; Greece civilized, but Rome organized and incorporated. The influence of Greece was mediate, individual, unseen; that of Rome, direct, general, evident, and effective.

It was through and by means of Rome's great practical genius for law and government that her influence worked, and it showed itself particularly in her provincial government. By the incorporation of conquered peoples into her own national life she made them partakers by necessity of her language and her laws, and by imitation of her customs and her civilization. Although her administration became corrupt and oppressive during the later years of the republic, it was very efficient under the empire, when many of the provinces came under the direct supervision of the emperor, and municipal institutions with a system of representation connected with the festivals of emperor-worship were developed and extended.[1] If Rome was despotic, she was protective; if the provinces paid high tribute in taxes and men, they gained peace and security, better government and laws, and a higher civilization.[2]

But Rome's power was failing. Her conquests had extended until she ruled the world, and the world was growing too large for one city to rule. Gradually, in the earlier times, she had received into her citizen-

[1] Fustel de Coulanges, vol. i., pp. 210–224.

[2] W. T. Arnold, "The Roman System of Provincial Administration" (London, 1879).

ship those whom she had first conquered, then civilized, then Romanized. Later, however, distant provinces were annexed and large numbers admitted to citizenship without going through this gradual initiation. The inhabitants of these distant provinces in the North and West, the barbarians, as they were called, were fast becoming a part of the organism itself—introduced first as slaves and captives of war, then in bands of large numbers as *coloni* on the estates of wealthy and influential Romans. Whole tribes had been received as subjects, and from the time of Cæsar and the first emperors, bands and troops had been used in the armies along with the legions.[1]

Unfortunately, however, as this material for, and consequently the need of, assimilation increased, Rome's power to perform such functions diminished with startling rapidity.

A great deal has been written about the moral corruption of later Roman life, and it might seem difficult to exaggerate the evil; but its importance as the cause of the fall of Rome undoubtedly has been overestimated, as Dr. Adams has so clearly pointed out,[2] by turning the attention away from other more direct and more immediately effective causes, and by concealing the real issue. The secret of Rome's fall was in her failure to assimilate her continued conquests, due to one thing—exhaustion. This exhaustion was moral, but that was not all; it was social, political, and economical. The social and economic effects of

[1] Fustel de Coulanges, vol. ii., pp. 365–401.

[2] Adams, pp. 76–88. One of the briefest yet most suggestive treatments of this interesting subject.

slavery were as disastrous as its moral effects. The same is true also of the breaking up of family life, the free games and free food, the luxury and artificial life of the rich. Most serious of all, the result of all these various causes, as well as of many others, was the disappearance of the middle class. The union of the patricians with the plebeians had led to the strengthening of the unity and power of Rome, immediately followed by the spread of her conquests and influence. It was the rapidly growing gulf between the wealthy aristocracy and the dependent proletariat that weakened her and prepared for her downfall.

If the dream of the communist were realized, and the so-called middle class constituted the entire community, without the variation of richer and poorer, educated and uneducated, employer and employed, life would be a dead, monotonous level, humanity would stagnate, arts and inventions would cease, and very soon a retrogression would begin, which, slowly at first, but surely and finally, would carry man back to the earlier conditions of barbarism from which civilization started, and out of which, by slow and painful steps and by great sacrifices of individuals and of communities, it has attained its present height. Unless the few who can are allowed to go ahead and lift themselves above the surrounding level, even if necessary on the backs and shoulders of their fellowmen, there can be no hope of progress, no possibility of advance for the mass of mankind; and unless rich rewards and great incentives are held out for success, few, too few, will attempt the difficult and oftentimes dangerous enterprise.

On the other hand, some bond of connection, some intimate union of sympathy and of mutual helpfulness, must be kept up between the highest and the lowest, the most and the least advantaged in society, or the vital connection will be lost, the organism mutilated, humanity will suffer, the social fabric, and, together with it, the political constitution, will totter to the fall. There will be, there must be, gradations, social, economical, intellectual, and political, but they must be so closely connected and interwoven that there shall be no break between the lower and the next higher. If, by any means, any considerable section of these gradations is removed, ruin is inevitable.

This was just the evil in Rome's case, caused by the disappearance of the middle class, eaten out by slavery, luxury, pauperization, loss of independence, and by the absorption of small proprietorships into the vast estates of wealthy and powerful landowners. Many of these evils had been felt already in the closing years of the republic, and had made not only possible, but necessary, the revolution wrought by Cæsar and realized by Augustus in the establishment of the empire. This movement, by concentrating the power and energy still remaining in the state, and by restoring, in a great measure, the direct responsibility of the minor officers, postponed the evil day, though it did not provide any radical remedy. Such evils are more noticeable and more dangerous in a republic than in a monarchy, but they are bound to be effective as long as they continue.

Another and still greater revolution, implying a still deeper recognition of these evils and dangers,

took place under Diocletian and Constantine. This was the division of the empire into East and West, its reorganization into four prefectures, sixteen dioceses, and one hundred and eighteen provinces, the introduction of Oriental forms and customs, the establishment of a complete system of bureaucracy, the removal of the capital to Constantinople, and the adoption of Christianity as the established religion of the empire.

All this, however, while recognizing the dangers, failed to avert them; and before the end of the fifth century the Roman emperor no longer had any independent rule in the West. Rome had ceased long before to be the seat of imperial power, for Diocletian, in 284, had removed thence to Milan, and before the middle of the fifth century the barbarians held the larger part of the imperial territory in the West.

This has been called the fall of the Roman empire, but the term is not a very appropriate one. In reality it was the handing over to others the power her hands were too weak to hold any longer, the seizure by others of the treasures she could no longer defend or use. These others were the Christian church and the German people.

CHAPTER III.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE PAPACY—THE INHERITANCE OF THE CHURCH.

THE Christian church inherited the organization and the centralization of the imperial power of Rome. Centuries elapsed, however, before it found its head and centre in the imperial city and came into full possession of the unity of organization and the discipline of law which it received with the imperial idea as its legacy.

The spiritual head and centre of the Christians was Christ. He was at once the norm and revelation of their faith, the source and standard of their life, the object and inspiration of their worship.

The first three centuries of their existence were passed largely in retirement, obscurity, and isolation. Political life was absolutely denied them, as also was social life outside of their own communities. They were the object of suspicion, ridicule, slander, and abuse, as well as of slights, annoyances, persecutions, and punishments, by their Jewish and pagan neighbors and by the local civil officials, from which the

imperial law afforded them no protection or redress. Their close organization was therefore natural as the outgrowth of a common political instinct, especially connected with their marvellous increase in numbers, and as the formal realization of their ideal unity in the one Lord, the one faith, and the one baptism. It was also necessary in order to maintain this growth and inward unity, as well as for outward defence and regulation.

Their first and most natural local centre was Jerusalem; but the intolerance and bitter attacks of the Jews, and the early destruction of the city by the Romans, put an end to its effectiveness as a means of centralization. Their earliest formal organization consisted of single scattered communities, each governed by a gradation of officers at whose head was the bishop, who represented the community and acted in its name. Interchange of thought, of sympathy, and of aid was maintained by letters, travellers, and more formally appointed messengers. Owing to the rise of novelties and variations of faith and of practice, synods including several neighboring communities began to be held, all tending to an increase of centralization. The bishops of the churches in the chief cities of the empire soon came to hold important and influential positions, especially when they were men of great personal energy and ability, or occupied positions in churches of apostolic or of quite early foundation. The decisions of synods and the declarations of individual bishops and teachers had only a moral sanction and authority, but even then showed such growing effectiveness as to bring upon them the

suspicion and finally the active persecution of the empire.

It was not on account of religious differences, for Rome tolerated all religions; it was not on account of their exclusiveness or proselytism, for the Jews were exclusive and proselyting; it was not on account of disobedience to the laws nor on account of the slanders concerning them that the empire in the third century entered upon a determined course of annihilation against them. Rather was it because of the increased efficiency and unmistakable reality of their organization, which threatened to form an *imperium in imperio*, not only rivalling the empire and dividing allegiance to the emperor, but tending to undermine the state and to overthrow its ruler. But if Rome was too exhausted to conquer her own corruption and to assimilate her later conquests, she was far too weak to cope successfully with the Christian church in the freshness of its purity and vigor. Her attacks aimed at its highest officials in the middle of the third century, and her efforts to destroy not only its members but its holy writings, the source of its life and inspiration, at the beginning of the fourth century, were powerless and ineffectual for harm. They came too late. They might prune away some branches; they could not injure the trunk, and only strengthened the roots of the mighty tree.

Just at this time the greatest change of all came to the empire and to the church—the conversion of the emperor and the proclamation of Christianity as the established religion of the empire, and the church as its official form and representative. It is very

difficult to realize, much harder to describe, and impossible to overestimate all that this meant to the church as well as to the empire. The organization was drawn into a still closer resemblance to the imperial constitution, crystallized in that form, and supported by the law and authority of the imperial power. Instead of being persecuted it was legalized; instead of being forced into obscurity it was made an arm of the state; instead of its officers being most exposed to the attacks of a hostile power they became the most exalted representatives of that power. Christianity was not only licensed, it became the sole authorized religion. Its rules and regulations, its rites and ceremonies, its creed and organization, became matters of imperial significance.

Startling as this change was in itself, it was nothing short of revolutionary in its effects. New standards and ideas, new aims and objects, new purposes and methods, new views and considerations, at once entered into the mind and will of the church. Emphasis was laid upon the exigencies of the economy of a visible church which became the substitute for the kingdom of God. There arose the necessity of an external system capable of being externally administered. There followed from this standpoint the localization of God and the necessity of substitutes instead of witnesses for his presence. The church itself came to be identified with the clergy, who appeared as its officers rather than as its ministers. The religious life was the ecclesiastical, later the monastic, life. Salvation was something external instead of internal, and an intrinsic value was accorded to works

which might be noted, estimated, and measured. It would lead too far from the present purpose to carry these considerations further, or to cite any of the numerous illustrations in the theology, morals, life, discipline, and worship forming from this period. The whole process extends through the later history and may be summed up as the substitution of the external sign for the thing signified.[1]

This shows why the church in the middle ages must be considered as an ecclesiastical institution rather than as a religious organization. Its moral influence gradually became subordinate to its ecclesiastical government. It was political rather than religious; it sought to save the world by ruling it, to serve men by subduing them to itself, and to teach them by exercising authority over them.

Centralization became more important than ever. The great patriarchates were established as centres of influence and control. They were Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and, later, Constantinople and Jerusalem. The importance of Rome was early recognized. Even in the middle of the third century Cyprian had shown the expediency of an appeal to Rome in matters of faith, though evidently without intending thereby to ascribe to her any authority not possessed by other churches equally ancient and apostolic. There were many other circumstances which favored the speedy rise of the Roman Church out of the obscurity in which she remained during the first three

[1] The further application of this principle may be read in "The Continuity of Christian Thought," by A. V. G. Allen, D.D. See especially the second and fourth chapters.

centuries, when the city, as the capital of the empire, was the centre of pagan life and worship. The Latin theology and the ecclesiastical life of the West had their rise and reached their height during the first four centuries, not in Rome, but in North Africa, in Tertullian, Cyprian, and St. Augustine. When the imperial capital was removed to the East and the pagan religion was proscribed, the great advantages of the Church of Rome began to appear. Even her early obscurity, joined with her distance from the disputes of the East, had worked to her advantage and made possible that silent, steady growth which enabled her, a little later, to take a high position in the Christian world.

The importance and dignity of the city, with all the prestige that came to her as the centre and seat of the empire and mistress of the world, were felt also by the church which had been founded there in the earliest apostolic times, and which claimed two of the chiefest of the apostles as her founders and upbuilders. Indeed, she was the only apostolic see in the West, and when so much depended upon an apostolic foundation and authority for proving genuineness of tradition and integrity of faith, this was of the greatest worth and importance. Rome kept the advantages thus gained. The regular succession and the personal prestige of her bishops, their general and, with one or two exceptions, undisputed orthodoxy, especially during the long struggle of the fourth century, when for a time the empire and the church at large were avowedly Arian, proved her ability to sustain her responsible position. The Roman Church was also

wealthy and at the same time generous. Her missionary zeal carried her emissaries into various parts of the West, and many churches were founded, supported, and protected by her, and they acknowledged and repaid their obligation by service and devotion. The conversion of the English, the attitude of Bede towards Rome, and the later labors of Boniface and other English missionaries in complete devotion to the Roman see serve admirably as illustrations of the feeling Rome evoked and the position of moral supremacy she came to hold among the churches of the West.

Other influences also were at work. The need of a centre of unity and defence made itself increasingly felt as the church organization grew more definite and Christianity spread into new and hitherto inaccessible regions, gaining a foothold among half-savage princes and semibarbarous peoples, while anarchy and confusion incident to the fall of Rome's political power took possession of the Western world. In many ways the Church of Rome met these needs and satisfied them.

The position of the priesthood generally became more and more subordinate to the higher ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Chosen more frequently from the serfs of the church, who alone had the educational training fitting them for the position, or from the freemen among the still uneducated peoples where the church was spreading most rapidly, their inferiority could not fail to be apparent. The time of the great presbyters had passed away; the bishops alone were important. But the bishops, as such,

found their power diminishing. The monasteries, one after another, in various ways gained exemptions and became independent of episcopal control. The right of lay patronage and the system of private chaplains took away from the bishops another source of their power. The rural deaneries and cathedral chapters still further weakened and divided it. Even the metropolitanate, essentially a Roman institution based upon the political importance of certain chief cities in the empire, was gradually dying out. Redivisions, consequent upon the settlements of new peoples, the disappearance of old centres, and the rising into importance of new ones, led to a complete readjustment of old relations. New sees, by reason of the greater wealth, renown, or sanctity which they acquired and the larger powers which they could exercise through the rapidly developing feudal system, which comprehended the church as well as the state, soon gained a credit and an influence far greater than the old metropolitanate, which in most cases was attached to some old, decaying, and insignificant Roman town.

In all this change Rome steadily gained in power and prestige. The springing up of new church centres taking the place of the old ones had the additional effect of breaking up the old traditions of independence and obliterated the recollections of ancient equality. The days of the opposition of Irenæus and the bishops of southern Gaul, of Tertullian, Cyprian, and the church of North Africa, of Ravenna, Aquileia, and Milan, were passing away. The new churches offered no resistance, indeed were eager in their

maintenance and defence of the increasing power and influence of the Bishop of Rome.[1]

The bishops of Rome began, about the fifth or sixth century, to exercise the right of conferring the pallium, a linen robe embroidered with purple, which all bishops in the East received at their consecration. By the Bishop of Rome, however, it was sent as a special mark of honor and privilege only to the most distinguished bishops of the West, symbolizing and strengthening their connection with the Church of Rome. The many appeals to Rome for the establishment of the faith, for aid and counsel, for the settlement of disputes, for the exercise of new powers, for gaining rights, privileges, and exemptions, not only recognized her authority, but increased it, and sometimes even created it.

Finally there was a whole series of imperial edicts and acts of councils which were used, rightly or wrongly, to give a legal foundation to Rome's growing claim to supremacy. Foremost of all, however, was the declaration of Christ to St. Peter as recorded in St. Matthew xvi. 18, first applied to the person of St. Peter and then to his successors in Rome in the fifth century.[2]

A canon of Sardica in 343 gave to Julius, Bishop of Rome at that time, the right of receiving appeals from bishops condemned for Arianism. Attempts

[1] Chastel, vol. iii., pp. 163–178.

[2] "First in the time of Cœlestine an attempt was made to refer it to the person of Peter. The legates of Cœlestine at the Council of Ephesus in 431 had said: 'Who, until now and ever, both lives and teaches in his successors.' Thus they claimed universal primacy as of immediate divine authority. Leo I. adopted this view with all his soul." (Kurtz, vol. i., p. 269.)

were made to give to this canon a general instead of a specific application, and to use it as a Nicene canon. An edict of the Emperor Gratian in 378 conferred upon Damasus the right of giving a final decision against some schismatic clergy. An edict of Valentinian in 445 declared the universal primacy of the Roman see. The later forgeries, culminating in the False Decretals of the ninth century, supplied all that was lacking in the way of precedent and documentary evidence.

But all these advantages, opportunities, precedents, declarations, canons, and edicts would have accomplished little of enduring worth had it not been for the line of good and great men—great in intellect, in ability, in tact, and in influence—who filled the chair of the Bishop of Rome. Indeed, we may fairly say that the Papacy,[1] as the special position and influence

1 The Roman bishops were not distinguished at first by any exclusive titles. The term "patriarch," while technically belonging to them alone in the West, was quite commonly applied to all the Western bishops. Even the names "apostolic Pope," "Vicar of Christ," "chief pontiff," and "apostolic see" were not confined to Rome and its bishops, inasmuch as, originally, all bishops were regarded as vicars of Christ and successors of the apostles, while no distinction had been made as yet between St. Peter and the other apostles. The term "Pope," from the Latin *papa* and Greek πάππας ("a father"), was applied at first to the higher clergy generally. Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, used it with special emphasis for the Bishop of Rome at the beginning of the sixth century, and from the next century it became a fixed title. Gregory VII. in 1075 enforced it by law, and forbade its application to any other bishop. Thus it is seen that the later titles of the bishops of Rome were those in general use at first, but gradually monopolized by them.

The phrase "servant of the servants of God," adopted by Gregory the Great in his well-known opposition to the claim of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the title "universal patriarch," remained almost exclusively the prerogative of the Bishop of Rome.

After their triumph at the Sixth General Council the Roman bish-

of the Bishop of Rome is called, owes its real origin to the three great popes of the fourth century—Innocent, Cœlestine, and Leo—and to the greater one at the close of the sixth century—Gregory the Great.

The life of Gregory [1] shows how far the Church of Rome had inherited the power and influence and real position of the old Roman empire. The Latin language had become the language of its Scriptures, its liturgy, its theology, and its laws, while with the language it had received much of the spirit and ideals of Rome. Thus the empire of Rome had passed on a part of its great heritage to the Church of Rome, and thus the Church of Rome had become able to receive and to administer the inheritance.

ops began to take the title "universal bishop," which Gregory had repudiated.

"Vicar of Peter" was frequently used, gradually growing in significance with the exaltation of Peter to the position of Prince of the Apostles, upon whom the church was founded and to whom had been given the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

[1] The account given by Milman in his "Latin Christianity," bk. iii., chap. viii., is one of the best brief biographies.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONQUEST OF THE EMPIRE BY THE GERMAN TRIBES—THE FOUNDATION OF THE FRANKISH MONARCHY—THE INHERITANCE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

THE other inheritor of Rome's power and civilization was the German people. Constantinople in the East retained the imperial name as New Rome, but the German tribes inherited the possessions in the West, divided at first, then gradually united, until the Lombards held the territory of the empire in Italy, and the Franks the lands beyond the Alps. At last Charles the Great, uniting both with new conquests in the North and East, created the Carolingian empire.

Of the various kingdoms, or, rather, tribal settlements we might better call them, which were made within the limits of the empire after the Völkerwanderung, few were lasting. The movement itself was a slow one and had been going on since the first century, when the tribes along the Baltic Sea and east of the Rhine and Danube rivers, urged on by increasing population and by the desire of the richer lands in the

South, and driven by other tribes still farther east, began to approach the boundaries of the empire. Many of them in small bands had been admitted to the empire as servants and laborers and as soldiers in the imperial armies, so that Rome began to conquer them by her civilization before they conquered her by force of arms.

It was not, however, until the battle of Adrianople, in 378, when the Visigoths, driven on by the Huns, crossed the Danube and defeated the Emperor Valens in one of the great decisive battles of the world, that the entrance into the empire by force and in any large numbers really began. Not long after the Vandals crossed the Rhine, and the other tribes speedily followed. They were forced to go on. One tribe was driven by another. Back of them were the Huns, a fierce Turanian horde from central Asia. The Goths invaded Italy and ravaged Gaul. Rome recalled her legions at the beginning of the fifth century and left the frontier undefended, and the first decade of that century saw the real occupation of the empire by the barbarian tribes.

The Vandals, passing through Gaul, founded a kingdom in North Africa in 429, from which they attacked and despoiled Rome in 455, one of four attacks since the beginning of the century; but they were overthrown by Belisarius, Justinian's famous general, in 534. Before the end of the seventh century the whole country was overrun by the Saracens, who in 711 entered Spain and subdued the kingdom which had been established there by the Visigoths just after their famous sack of Rome in 410 under Alaric.

The kingdom of Odoacer the Herulian, who in 476 brought an end to the separate line of Roman emperors in Italy, was succeeded in 493 by the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric, which was overthrown in 553 by Narses, another famous general of Justinian. The Lombards gained a foothold in Italy in 568, after the death of Justinian and the recall of Narses, and their kingdom lasted until overthrown by Charles the Great in 774, and forms an important chapter in this history.

The other kingdoms were conquered by the Franks, and annexed to or absorbed into the Frankish kingdom during the fifth and sixth centuries.

The Franks first appear in history as a powerful confederation of several German tribes, who in the time of Tacitus inhabited the Rhine districts. Unlike the other great confederations of German tribes, they did not leave their old lands while conquering new ones. They formed, however, two distinct groups: the Salians, near the mouth of the Rhine, extending west and south to and perhaps beyond the river Maas, thus nearer and more exposed to the influences of Roman civilization; and the Ripuarians, on the right bank of the Rhine.

During the middle and last half of the third century the Salian Franks had frequent struggles with the Romans, but, though often defeated, they were able speedily to recover. In the middle of the fourth century they extended into Toxandria, between the Maas and the Scheldt, and were acknowledged by Julian as subjects of the empire. From time to time they were granted lands by candidates for the im-

perial purple anxious to secure their aid. Thus they gradually increased in power and in extent of territory.

In the course of the wanderings of these German tribes, leaving their old homes and coming into new lands, the old heathen customs and religion lost their hold. As they established themselves in the richer and more fertile lands of the South, hunting and semi-pastoral pursuits gave place to the agricultural, a more settled form of life, so that landownership and a more advanced political life and organization developed. Wars being more regular and prolonged, the temporary war chieftainship became a permanent kingship. The king, who was chosen by acclamation of the warriors from the chief or royal family, maintained order in time of peace and commanded the army in time of war, being supported by the voluntary gifts of the tribesmen, who in peace formed the great council or assembly, and in war the army. As the king's authority and importance grew he came to be the only one to have a *comitatus*, or personal following of warriors, a privilege, in the time of Tacitus, belonging to every chief of ability.

In all this development the Salians speedily took the lead among the Franks. When, in the first decade of the fifth century, Stilicho called the legions back from Gaul and the frontier stations for the defence of Rome, nothing stood in the way of their advancement, and they extended their settlement to both sides of the Scheldt. They appear also at this time to have had a king with his residence at Tournay, while the Ripuarians continued longer in their

old organization, being settled in and about Cologne as their chief city. They still fought in union with the Romans against the Visigoths, thus extending their influence towards the south. In the great battle of Châlons against the Huns in 451, they served with other tribes under the Roman leader Ætius.

Their first king was named Clogio or Clodio. A generation later came Childerich, who belonged to the family called Merovingian, though the origin of this name is not known. With his son Clovis, who succeeded to the rule in 481, the real historical importance of the people begins.

Already the last Emperor of the West had given place to the German king Odoacer, and in all the provinces German kingdoms had been founded.

Whatever the deeper insight of Clovis may have taught him, whether he beheld, as in a vision, the future glory of the Frankish kingdom uniting all the German tribes in one wide rule, and extending its sway over the whole of western Europe, it is certain that he did undertake and successfully carry out a policy which not only gave to his rule a wide extension, but also paved the way for the union of all the German peoples under the Frankish sway. The foundation of the new kingdom was laid when, in 486, Clovis gained the rest of the Roman territory from the Somme and the Maas to the Seine and the Loire by his victory over Syagrius, whom Gregory of Tours calls King of the Romans. In this conquest he was able to unite the scattered bands of eastern Franks in a union now for the first time effected. Thus the kingdom of Clovis extended southward, new

territory was annexed, and the people were taken under his rule. The old northern lands were not given up; the conquest did not result in a migration and the division of the new lands. The Romans kept their freedom and their personal rights. Unlike Theodoric, Clovis did not try to fuse the Romans and the Germans into one people. This shows the great significance of his conversion to Christianity. With a Christian wife, a Burgundian princess, ruling a Christian people, in the midst of a Christian land, and having already maintained friendly relations with the Catholic clergy,[1] he was not likely to remain long a heathen. Whether or not we accept the story of his conversion on the field of battle with the Alemanni in 496, when, his old gods having apparently forsaken him, he agreed in case of victory to accept the Christians' Christ, the important fact is that he became a Roman Christian, while the other German tribes, converted through the work of Ulfilas and the Goths, were Arians. This fact gave to the Roman element great significance. It is said that three thousand of his followers were baptized at the same time, thus showing the weakening of their old heathenism. Clovis made his residence on Roman territory near Paris. Thus from being the king of a small German tribe he became the lord of an extended, largely Roman kingdom, and by his Christianity entered into relations with all the great powers of Europe, the emperor at Constantinople and the Bishop of Rome, and began that remarkable career from whose

[1] Gregory of Tours, vol. ii., p. 27; Frodoard, vol. i., p. 13; cf. Waitz, vol. ii., p. 42, note 3.

results arose the great modern states of western Europe. "Connection with the old world was entered into at the very moment that a new world began to be formed—almost was formed—by Clovis himself." [1]

The church by her indorsement made his position more secure among the old semi-Roman population, while he became the sole military support of the church in the West against both Arians and heathen. His victories followed one another in quick succession. The Alemanni were conquered in 496; the Amoricans, on the sea-coast between the Seine and the Loire, submitted in 497. In 500, near Dijon, he conquered the Burgundians and made them tributary; and again, as champion of the orthodox faith against the Arians, he overcame the powerful Visigoths at Poitiers in 507. In the following year he was made Consul and Patrician of the Romans by the Emperor Anastasius. Though these were empty titles, as far as defined powers and position in the empire were concerned, they undoubtedly increased his influence among the Roman population in his kingdom, and emphasized his relations with Rome and with the church.

In extending his possessions to the south and east he came in contact with Theodoric, who was at the height of his power as ruler of the great Ostrogothic kingdom in northern Italy, and here his progress was checked.

The remaining years before his death, in 511, were spent in conspiracies and murders, by which he got

[1] Waitz, vol. ii., p. 48.

rid of the other Frankish kings who had not yet submitted. In this way a vacancy was made on the throne of the Ripuarians, and he was proclaimed their king. "And thus," says Gregory of Tours, "God daily subdued his enemies beneath his hand, and increased his kingdom, for that he walked before him with a true heart and did that which was pleasing in his eyes." [1] By his victories and murders he had extended his rule until it comprised practically the whole territory between the Rhine and the Rhone on the east and the ocean on the west and the Pyrenees on the south.

At his death, in accordance with German law and custom, whose breach would have caused much greater evils than its observance, the kingdom was divided among his four sons, who began their reign as four separate and independent, though related, kings. Out of this partition came the two main divisions of Neustria, the western kingdom, and Austrasia, the eastern, corresponding roughly to the older Salian and Ripuarian settlements. It is to be noted, however, that the old German principle of division, which threatened to destroy a unity built up with such effort, and apparently so necessary to the integrity and continuity of the royal power, did not have the effect of permanent disintegration; for, on the death of one of the brothers, his kingdom very rarely went to his sons, but was shared by the remaining brothers, so that in this way unity would be restored and thus would tend to reappear from time to time. Besides, this principle was supposed to

[1] Gregory of Tours, vol. ii., p. 40.

check civil strife and to emphasize an underlying family unity.

Under the sons of Clovis and their successors, however, bloodshed, treachery, and strife present a dismal picture. Yet the power of the Frankish kings increased and their territory was extended. Thuringia, northeast of the country of the Alemanni, was conquered in 530. The complete conquest of Burgundy, prevented by Theodoric in the lifetime of Clovis, was effected in 534, and Provincia, south of it along the Mediterranean, was annexed in 536. Bavaria, east of Alemannia, was made tributary in 555, though it did not lose completely its independence until 787. Vasconia was conquered in 567, and the Vascones, farther south, were brought into subjection in 601.

In the reigns of Clotaire II. and of his son Dagobert the Merovingian power seemed to be at its height.

CHAPTER V.

THE MEROVINGIAN MONARCHY—ELEMENTS OF FEUDALISM—MAYORS OF THE PALACE.

THE kingdom thus formed and consolidated comprised three principal parts, Austrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria; but, though rarely united under a single king, there was a practical underlying unity which manifested itself in various ways.

For a time the nominal power of the kings increased with the extension of territory, the increase of wealth, and the growing influence of Roman ideas of government. At the same time the royal power had gradually changed from a simple military chieftainship to an absolute dominion—a change due very largely to the influence of Roman and ecclesiastical ideas. But other powers were growing at a greater rate. The race of the Merovingians was fast losing its moral and physical strength and courage. Treachery and fraud, murders and cruelties, not less than debauchery and licentiousness, aggravated by the removal to a more enervating climate and surroundings, had gradually sapped the strength and undermined the valor of the kings. While the royal

power was growing by great accessions of wealth and territory, that of the chiefs and leaders grew too, until, from being great by reason of their individual characteristics of superior force and courage, they became a territorial and hereditary aristocracy, and secured the possession of special jurisdiction and the exercise of powerful privileges, which tended to increase still further their power, and to make them less and less dependent upon the kings.

Thus in the evolution of the government of the middle ages, in the development out of the old tribal relations, and in the change of conditions from the earlier, simple wandering life to the later more settled and complex forms, there were three elements or tendencies, the popular, the aristocratic, and the royal.

First, as to the people in general. It is not necessary to enter into the vexed question as to the original existence of the mark, or free village community, among the early Germans, though Tacitus affords little if any support for such a theory, while the numbers and importance of a really free population in early times have been very much overestimated. Whatever the numbers may have been, the strifes and struggles, the confusion and chaos, of the sixth and the seventh centuries materially reduced and weakened them. Even though they might have had a fair share in the division of lands consequent upon the conquest of new territory, it would be most difficult and dangerous for the smaller proprietors to attempt to hold them alone. Hence arose the custom of holding the lands as a benefice, or *in beneficio*, from the king or from some other great and power-

ful lord, whose protection would secure the use of the land, even if the title had to be renounced. This condition of landholding was brought about in two ways: One who had no land, or had lost it, might receive from some large landholder, at first, usually, in such a case, from the church, land which he might use and cultivate, though without holding the title to it, but guaranteed and protected in his use of it by the real owner. On the other hand, one who had land which he did not feel himself able to hold any longer might give up the title to some powerful lord, under whose protection he might retain the use. This is the way in which the feudal holding of land grew up. In one other way the position of the freeman was weakened and made dependent, thereby increasing the power of the king and great chiefs. Personal security was uncertain, and a man unable to defend himself commended himself to some powerful chief, and became his man or vassal, receiving protection and rendering faithful service. This is the way in which the feudal personal relation grew up. There was much in the earlier history of the Roman, Gaul, and German to suggest and prepare for these relations of lands and persons; but the actual realization of these conditions was due to the lack of security, both of land and of persons, and to the weakness and unsettled state of a central power, consequent upon the strife and confusion which have been described. It was some time before these two elements, the landholding and the personal relation, were united, resulting in the system by which land was held on condition of personal service, the essential

characteristic of feudalism. At this time, however, land was held in benefice without any thought of personal relations, and commendation or vassalage existed between a man and his lord without any connection with land.

These movements were going on spontaneously and independently all through the sixth and seventh centuries, increasing all the time in extent and frequency, at first more particularly in connection with the church and church lands, that the church's estates might be cultivated and the protection and immunities afforded by her secured.

All this tended to increase the power of the king and that of the great lords; and the struggle which ensued had this importance—to show whether a strong central power could be established at once in the newly forming Frankish kingdom, and a monarchy develop directly out of the earlier tribal conditions; or whether some other constitutional form would furnish a stage of transition to the later monarchy. As an actual fact the latter condition was realized, and feudalism formed the transitional phase. The contest between the king and the aristocracy was already evident at the close of the sixth century, and although the rise of the mayors of the palace, to which we must now very briefly refer, changed the form of that struggle and postponed the result, it did not make it less certain.

With the increasing importance of the kings, all who were in any way connected with them also increased in influence. Their court took on more and more the character of the royal courts of older mon-

archies, and personal service became of high honor, and those who rendered it were correspondingly exalted. Foremost of these was the chief officer of the palace, *major domus*, as he was called. This was at first only another name for seneschal, that is, the oldest or first of the servants.[1] The position was a purely personal one, carrying with it merely a general oversight of household affairs, as is shown by the fact that the name appears originally in any court among the officers of the queen's household or of that of a prince or princess. Furthermore, there were several, at first, serving the king, and therefore probably one in each palace or royal residence. As the importance and dignity of the office rose with that of the king, its duties came to be held by a single officer in the kingdom. A great deal of confusion has arisen from a failure to observe the gradual change which took place in this office, unlike that of the other royal offices, and its humble beginning, which will account also for the many and contradictory descriptions given of it.

With the development of the royal court, the mayor of the palace became the chief court officer, directing all affairs of court, training the youths sent up for the king's service, maintaining law and discipline among the chiefs, and holding the chief place among the secular members of the assemblies held by the king for counsel or judicial business. Later he appeared as the administrator of justice. During the minority or incapacity of the king the conduct of the realm was in his hands. Necessarily also certain

[1] Waitz, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 71, 86.

financial duties would begin to devolve upon him: the care of the royal property, raising and disbursing the royal revenue, at first merely in household affairs directly connected with the palace and the court, but finally all revenue, since there was no real distinction.[1] This control of the royal finances, grants of land, and general administration of the palace and court increased his power greatly and gave him a strong influence over the chiefs, whom he could reward or neglect at will. His influence soon came to be felt throughout the kingdom, at first in close dependence upon the king, but soon without, and even almost in spite of, him, in consequence of the growing degeneracy and many minorities of the later Merovingian dynasty. It was here perhaps that the power and final victory of the aristocracy were most plainly shown. Originally, like all the other officers appointed by the king, the chiefs had brought it about that not only was he chosen from them, but they were able to exercise a potent influence in his election, thus making him in some sort their representative and leader. His position came to be assured for life, and in this way more and more independent of the king. The issue was decided in the reigns of Clotaire II. and his son Dagobert. Clotaire had been called by the chiefs of Austrasia and Burgundy to the rule of their kingdom after the fall of the preceding administration, which they themselves had accomplished by

1 Gregory of Tours (bk. ix., p. 43) mentions that Childebert sent the mayor of the palace and the count of the palace to Poitiers to take a census of the people, rectifying the list according to recent changes, in order to assess the tax which had been paid from the time of his father.

the overthrow of Brunhilda in 613. As Perry very forcibly says: "Thus, after a long series of rebellions, the rising aristocracy gained their first great victory over the monarchy; we say the monarchy, for in the battle which made him king of the whole Frankish empire no one was more truly defeated than the nominal victor, Clotaire II., himself. He was, in fact, an instrument in the hands of the seigniors for the humiliation of the royal power. It was not because Neustria was stronger than Austrasia and Burgundy that the Neustrian king obtained a triple crown, but because the power of the seigniors was greater than that of the infant kings and their female guardian." [1]

The edict of 615,[2] which issued in a somewhat modified form the decisions of the Council of Paris in 614, sealed the doom of the Merovingian kings [3] by dividing and weakening their power. Further concessions were made; the immunities and privileges of the seigniors were confirmed. By means of these immunities—that is, rights of special jurisdiction and the exercise of privileged powers, which were given to both ecclesiastical and lay lords—a real grant of public authority was made. This was another element which entered into and built up the feudal system.

The leaders of the victorious party, the mayors of the palace, were the chief gainers. From this time on the power of the mayor of the palace grew until it completely overshadowed that of the king. All important business passed through his hands; all of-

[1] Perry, p. 196.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 20–23.
[3] Lehuerou, p. 257.

ficials were responsible to him; he distributed all honors and favors, took the king's place with the subjects, received letters addressed to the king, issued royal documents and decrees, and stamped his name on the coin of the realm, really occupying the position of regent or under-king.[1]

Thus, while the once strong Merovingian kingdom was robbed of its power, and in place of faithful subjects with definite duties and obligations to their king a strong aristocracy had arisen, exercising royal prerogatives and aiming at feudal independence, a check at once appeared in the power and position of the mayor of the palace.

The aristocracy found that in freeing themselves from the enfeebled power of their kings they had come into conflict with a new power increasing in strength and importance, and though at first the representative, threatening to become the master of their own. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, the residence of the Austrasian king, and Pippin of Landen were most prominent as mayors of the palace during the early part of the seventh century, and really saved the kingdom from the anarchy into which it seemed about to fall. Though nominally united under Dagobert, the son of Clotaire II., each division was practically ruled by a mayor of the palace.

The Merovingian kings who ruled from this time have borne in history the name of *rois fainéants*, the do-nothing kings, a succession of children or of adults corrupted and weakened in childhood, thus rendered incapable and incompetent. In Austrasia the power

[1] Waitz, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 71, 83–100, 397–400.

of the mayors of the palace continued in the line of Pippin, though an attempt to seize the crown by Pippin's son Grimoald resulted in his death. But another Pippin arose. This was Pippin of Heristal, the son of Begga, daughter of Pippin of Landen and of Ansegis, the son of Arnulf, Bishop of Metz. The separation had been growing wider and the strife more bitter between the Neustrian and Austrasian parts of the kingdom, and at last there had come open war. At the battle of Testry, in 687, one of the great decisive battles of the world's history, Pippin had led the Austrasian hosts to victory. This victory not only signalized the triumph of the Austrasian, the eastern or German elements, over the more Romanized, uniting all under the German sway, but it ended the power, though not the royal name, of the Merovingian kings, and established Pippin and his house in supreme control. From his time the title of the mayors of the palace was *Dux et Princeps Francorum*, and the years of his office were reckoned on all public documents, and his son Charles Martel was also called *subregulus*.

CHAPTER VI.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH AMONG THE EARLY FRANKS—CONVERSION OF CLOVIS—THE BISHOPS.

WE must now consider the influence of this important history upon the extension and development of the Frankish church.

The migrations and conquests by the German tribes of the North and their settlements in the territory of the Roman empire had two results. In many cases they had partly, in some cases wholly, destroyed the missionary work and ecclesiastical establishments of the earlier period, especially along the Rhine and the Danube, or corrupted them by admixtures of heathenism. But in the case of the Germans themselves the result had been quite generally the uprooting and unsettling of their old heathenism, weakening its hold upon them. As they came in contact with the newly Christianized empire, many conversions were made by soldiers, captives, and slaves.

The great work of Ulfilas among the Goths in the latter half of the fourth century was the first organized effort among them, however, and his labors, extending to his death in 381, resulted in their general

conversion. The form of Christianity was the Arianism prevailing in the empire at that time, and still further spread by the influence of the Emperor Valens. From this beginning Arian Christianity spread among the other related tribes, extending with the Visigoths through Gaul and Spain and with the Ostrogoths in northern Italy. The Vandals in Africa and the Burgundians on the banks of the Rhone and Saône were won over to the same faith, as were also the Suevi in Spain, the Rugians and others along the Danube, and the still larger tribe of the Langobards, about to form the great Lombard kingdom in Italy. "Down to the end of the fifth century Arianism was professed by the larger portion of the German world; it had more and more assumed the character of a national German Christianity, and it almost seemed as if the whole German world, and with it the universal history of the future, were its secure prey." [1]

This explains the immense significance and far-reaching importance of the conversion of Clovis and the growing power of the Franks to Catholic Christianity at the close of the fifth century. That conversion was the turning-point for the downfall of Arianism and the establishment of the Nicene faith.

To the oppressed and persecuted Catholics Clovis appeared as a savior and avenger, while the hope of the future spread and ultimate triumph of orthodoxy centred in him. The long succession of cruel, treacherous, and aggressive warfare, waged avowedly for the church as well as for the kingdom, was hailed as the work of a modern David, a second Constantine,

[1] Kurtz, vol. i., pp. 443, 444.

a true champion of Christianity against heretics and heathens. The alliance was natural, and both sides fully realized the advantages. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, wrote to Clovis: "As often as you fight, we conquer."[1] And Clovis expressed himself in a similar manner: "If we acquire the friendship of the servants of God and exalt them with honors and show our veneration for them by obedience, we trust that we shall continually improve the condition of our kingdom, and obtain both temporal glory and a country in the kingdom of heaven."[2]

The church did not stop with mere words of blessing and encouragement. As the Frankish kings carried their victorious arms south into the Gallic provinces and east to the Moselle and Rhine districts, they found there the old episcopal sees, many still important, some rich and influential, whose bishops had been able to attain great power in their cities as the Roman empire lost its hold. These readily joined with the Frankish kings and aided them in establishing their conquest of the country. They were therefore not merely acknowledged in their positions, but were also endowed with new honors and dignities. Many of them, like Gregory of Tours, were from old senatorial families, and retained the culture and ideals of the old empire, often taking the part of intercessors and protectors for the Roman inhabitants of the cities with their new German rulers. Frequently they provided for the defence of their cities during the contests

1 "Epistola Aviti, Ep. Vienn., ad Chlodov.," Bouquet, vol. iv., p. 49.

2 "Preceptio Chlodov.," Bouquet, vol. iv., p. 615; Perry, p. 449.

between the Frankish kings. The kings also made use of them in securing a firmer recognition of the royal power, and this conferred upon them a certain political influence.[1] Thus their power grew in consequence of their close connection with the state. Their spiritual power, enforced by the right of excommunication and other ecclesiastical penalties, was now supported by the strong arm of the growing secular power. Large sums of money were bestowed upon the church, the administration of which came into their hands. Landed estates were made over to them, and, as special immunities and privileges were granted on all church lands, they assumed a greater independence. Superstition came to the aid of the natural feelings of gratitude and devotion, till it became a common saying that as water quenched fire so a gift to a church put away sin.[2]

There may be noted, therefore, a great increase in the power of the bishops over that of the earlier period. No longer do we hear of great presbyters, but with the growing institutionalism of the church its higher officers came into great prominence and exercised a social and political, as well as ecclesiastical and spiritual, power. Bishops took their place in the national assemblies and councils of the kings, and were able to exercise an influence in the appointment and installation of the counts.[3] In this way they entered into and became a part of the growing feudal

[1] Waitz, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 57–59.

[2] "Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna extinguit peccatum." (Muratori, vol. v., p. 628; Perry, p. 467, note 1.)

[3] Waitz, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 39, 60.

régime, wielding a greater power than the lay lords, by reason of their additional ecclesiastical and spiritual position. Chilperic, the Neustrian king in the last quarter of the sixth century, whom Gregory of Tours calls a modern Nero, is reported to have said: "None truly reign but the bishops; our dignity has departed and is transferred to them." [1]

These great spiritual lords, strong in popular support, rich in gold and lands, possessed of what intellectual power there was, surrounded by vassals, ruling their clergy, rivalling, often successfully, the counts and great lay lords, the censors of kings, freed by immunities from many burdens and obligations, attained a height of power seemingly almost unassailable. Yet in their very greatness lay the source of danger and weakness.

The church had transferred to the Frankish monarchy the old scriptural idea of royal authority and power, and even acknowledged the king as its lord and master. This power he was not slow to accept and exercise. The same despotism which he acquired towards his subjects he showed towards the church. If he fought for the church like a Constantine, he ruled it in the same despotic way. He might order churches to be restored, Jews to be baptized, and heathen customs to be abolished; he could also, as did Chilperic, command that the distinction of persons in the Trinity should be no longer recognized, but the name "God" only be used, and force this order on all the doctors of the church;[2] add, by his own authority,

[1] Perry, p. 472.
[2] Gregory of Tours, bk. v., pp. 288, 289.

four letters to the alphabet and introduce them into books and instruction.[1]

Especially did the authority of the king show itself in the matter of appointment to the chief ecclesiastical offices, particularly to the important bishoprics. The canonical law, as it had been established before the Frankish conquest, gave to the clergy and people of the city the right to elect their bishop, requiring at the same time the assent of the metropolitan and of the other bishops of the province. Later synods had endeavored repeatedly to enforce this rule. But the kings, perhaps as early as Clovis, claimed the right of appointment, and the church was forced to acknowledge it, resisting only a most unreasonable choice, as of a notorious evil liver or of a mere layman.[2]

Ecclesiastical positions came more and more under the direct patronage of the king, and those who lived about the palace, high in the king's confidence and favor, received appointments to such as their reward. In this way Germans were substituted for Romans in the episcopate, and the church was bound still closer to the ruling power. Promises of aid, actual services, and even money payments took the place of spiritual character as the requirements for a successful candidate, till one saw in many of the bishops little else but mighty lords, holders of vast estates; and even counts

[1] Gregory of Tours, bk. v., p. 290. These four letters seem to have been derived from the Greek ω, φ (*ph*), θ (*th*), and χ (*ch*).

[2] Gregory of Tours, bk. viii., p. 451: "Laban, Bishop of Eauze, died this year, and had as his successor Didier, a layman. The king had promised with an oath that he would never choose a bishop from the laity. But what can avail against that detestable thirst for gold which rages in the heart of mortals!"

and other chief men forcibly seized the bishoprics without consent of people or of king and held their estates and revenues.[1] The king used the bishops as counsellors and ambassadors, and Arnulf was at once Bishop of Metz and mayor of the palace. It is estimated that at the close of the seventh century the church owned one third of the land of Gaul,[2] and most of this was in the hands of the bishops and abbots.

It has been said that much of this wealth and power was necessary if the church wished to maintain her position and to exercise any influence upon the people and princes, who were accessible only by material influences, while, without such means of protection, she would have been exposed to contempt and defeat. Yet it was her temporal power and worldly possessions that made her the object of envy and attack, and the social and political positions occupied by her chief officers that made them desirable in the eyes of worldly, unscrupulous, and depraved men. It was the bishop at the court and not in his church, at the table of the rich and not in the home of the poor, surrounded by his vassals in the pomp of his pride, not in his fasts and vigils, whom men saw and did not reverence, whom they attacked and whose position they coveted.

We are reminded, however, that this is only one side of the picture, yet historically the most prominent. "*Qui bene latuit bene vixit;* and of those who in a humbler sphere endeavored simply to do their

[1] Waitz, vol. ii., part ii., p. 64.
[2] Perry, p. 469.

duty in that spiritual office to which it had pleased God to call them, little or nothing found its way into the annals of their country; and we have good reason to believe that, amid the too general corruption of these times, there were always some in whose hearts the life-blood of the church was treasured and preserved." [1]

[1] Perry, p. 463.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY—MONASTICISM—MISSIONARIES, IRISH, SCOTCH, AND ENGLISH.

THIS condition of the church and these tendencies on the part of its chief officials had their effect on the spread of Christianity. True, the arms of Clovis and of his sons had carried orthodoxy wherever they had gone, until at last only two tribes remained outside of the Frankish kingdom and unconverted to the Catholic faith. The Visigoths in Spain, beyond the reach of the Frankish arms, remained fierce Arians until the conversion of their king, Reccared, in 587, on which occasion, it will be remembered, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father was added to the Nicene Creed, probably in order to assert most emphatically and even on this point the absolute coequality of the Son with the Father. The importance of this conversion was slight, however, as they were completely overthrown by the Saracens in 711. The Ostrogoths in northern Italy under Theodoric were Arian, under the Byzantine rule they were nominally orthodox, but the conquest and settlement by the Lombards in 568

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reëstablished Arianism. The Catholic influence began to be felt, however, in the time of Gregory the Great, and after 663 the Lombard kings were orthodox.

The conversions from heathenism by the Frankish power were at first nominal, though even this afforded a foothold for the missionaries and an opportunity for further training. Fear and bribery were important agents; persecution and punishment of heathenism served to make it unpopular. Baptism was regarded as in itself accomplishing conversion, and the observance of Lent and paying tithes as the characteristic marks of Christianity.[1] Furthermore, the church had taken up a policy of adaptation, which made the first steps easy, but threatened serious dangers in its after effects. It is one thing to emphasize points of agreement held in common; it is quite another to obliterate real distinctions and to adopt deliberately that which has always been associated with directly opposing views. The latter was the dangerous course upon which the church entered. Heathen customs were adopted, feasts and festivals introduced, though with Christian names. Even the existence of the old divinities was in many cases acknowledged, though their names were changed to devils and evil spirits. Heathen temples were reconsecrated as Christian churches. The whole idea of God was perverted and a pantheon of saints erected. The ordeal, a purely heathen institution, received a Christian form, verses of the Bible were used in the church to tell fortunes and decide lots, the relics and images of saints were endowed with supernatural power and used as charms,

[1] Boretius, pp. 68, 69; "Karoli Magni Capitularia," xxvi., 4, 16, 17.

and reverenced, if not worshipped, as such. Thus a heathenish materialistic spirit was allowed to enter into and take possession of Christianity merely in order that its outward form might be more readily accepted and more quickly adopted.

Christianity made little progress among the heathen at first, however. In the Moselle and Rhine districts there were the bishoprics of Cologne, Treves, Metz, Toul, and Liége, also churches in Mayence, Worms, Spires, and Strasburg, and on the Lower Danube.[1] Some of these were destroyed in the first shock of conquest, but many kept their continuity unbroken and made converts among the German tribes. There was no special missionary work by the Franks among the Germans beyond the Rhine. The Frankish clergy were too much occupied with other interests nearer home, and when, in the sixth and seventh centuries, they did show any activity it was almost wholly confined to the old Salian and Belgian districts. During the fifth and sixth centuries the gloom of chaos and of barbarism fell upon everything. In the contact with civilization, barbarism at first exercised the strongest influence. The disordered and turbulent life, brutal passions, materialized conceptions, could not fail to have a demoralizing effect upon the clergy. The results upon the bishops we have already considered, and, as Chaucer wrote, under similar conditions in England:

"If gold rust, what shall iron do?"

In the midst of all this evil and confusion, darkness and demoralization, the Benedictine order was

[1] Waitz, vol. ii., part i., p. 76.

introduced into Europe from the foundation made by Benedict of Nursia at Monte Cassino in 528. To the scattered monasteries established already he gave a unity and general rule, and increased their number and efficiency. The rule was practical as well as religious, demanded physical as well as intellectual labor, study as well as prayer, and more of these than of fasts and vigils and fleshly asceticism.[1]

Multitudes flocked to them from all classes of society. Kings laid down their crowns and soldiers their arms; some entered through cowardice and superstition; some through devotion to high hopes and noble purposes; some through despair and wretchedness. But a great work lay before them all, and manfully they set out to perform it. They became the pioneers of Europe, cultivating both mind and soil. Centres of deep religious life, they were at the same time the sources of a great and beneficent activity. As far as they could they fostered learning, preserved books, and kept alive a sense of the reality of that higher life which is not discerned by the senses, but is real and is eternal.

The real incentive to this, and to the rest of the missionary activity, came, however, from across the seas. Ireland had lighted on her shores a lamp of learning and of religious life, destined not to go out until the whole Western world had been illumined by its brightness and had caught the fire from its flame. Ireland had been converted by the labors, the holy life, and the beautiful character of St. Patrick in the fifth century, and Scotland in the sixth cen-

[1] The rule in full is translated in Henderson, pp. 274–314.

tury by St. Columba, who had gone over from Ireland. The fruits of their labors showed themselves in zeal for learning and a fervent devotion, which gave to Ireland the name of Isle of the Saints; they also aroused an intense missionary activity, which, not content with the conversion of a large part of England, extended to the Continent, where Irish missionaries entered the wilds and forests, and in the sixth and seventh centuries carried on their work among the Visigoths, Alemanni, Burgundians, and Lombards. Fridolin seems to have been the first, and began his work among the Visigoths near Poitiers about the year 500, and later, under the protection of Clovis, after the conquest in 507, he founded several churches and monasteries, afterwards going among the Alemanni farther east. Columbanus succeeded him and laid the real foundations of the later Christian life and learning. He left Ireland in 590 and crossed the Frankish kingdom until he came to a wild and savage district among the Vosges Mountains, in northeastern Burgundy, where he established his monasteries, Anegrey (Anagrates), Luxeuil (Luxovium), and Fontenay (Fontanæ). Of these Luxeuil was the chief, and became one of the greatest centres of learning and religious life. "In the first half of the seventh century German names became more frequent among the reforming bishops and founders of religious communities, but all received their inspiration directly or indirectly from Luxeuil." [1]

Driven from Burgundy by the evil Brunhilda, he withdrew to the Neustrian kingdom, where he was

[1] Martin, vol. ii., p. 128.

welcomed by Clotaire, whose supremacy over the whole Frankish kingdom he predicted would be established before three years. Refusing to remain in order to receive the rewards of his pleasing prophecy, he went to Alemannia, where his disciple Gallus founded the famous monastery of St. Gall. He went on across the Alps into the Lombard kingdom, where he founded still another monastery, Bobbio. From time to time he engaged in correspondence with the bishops of Rome, and though free from the servile spirit of a later age, it breathes throughout the deepest respect and reverence for the "chair of St. Peter" and the "successors of Peter and Paul," whom he greets as the head of the churches of the West, occupying the chief seat of the orthodox faith.[1]

To the example and influence of these Scotch-Irish missionaries and their disciples was due, very largely, the work of the Frankish missionaries. Furthermore, after the Council of Whitby, in 664, when their work in England came to an end, large numbers of them crossed over to the Continent and carried on a vast missionary work along the Rhine and among the Hessians, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Alemanni. Their work, however, while sincere, earnest, and true, lacked unity and effective organization, and seemed unable to resist the encroachment of heathen reaction and the corrupting influences of worldly-minded and immoral kings and princes. The same defeat that they sustained in England they were forced to undergo on the Continent at the hands of

[1] Neander, vol. iii., pp. 29–35; Kurtz, vol. i., p. 457; Martin, vol. ii., pp. 114–117, 127–131, especially p. 127, note 2.

English missionaries. The latter, with their practical talent for organization and their devoted attachment to the imposing spiritual power of the Church of Rome, completed the foundations of the Frankish church and brought about her complete incorporation into the great ecclesiastical system of the West, which was rapidly forming under the prestige and authority of Rome. The chief agent in this great work was the English Boniface, the apostle of Germany, aided by the mayors of the palace, particularly by Pippin, afterwards King of the Franks, the father of Charles the Great.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW POWERS AND GREAT PURPOSES OF THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE—CHARLES MARTEL AND THE CHURCH—FOUNDATION OF FEUDALISM.

THE Frankish kingdom, which had been established by the great conquests of the early Merovingian kings, Clovis and his successors, formed a wide-embracing union of Romans and of Germans of many different tribes. It was in this respect far more complex and varied than any of the other German kingdoms which arose out of the settlements after the Völkerwanderung. But the task of holding all together and solidifying the union already begun was too great for the kings of the seventh century. Their own weakness and inability to continue to hold the position they had gained, together with the rising power of the great chiefs, whose influence appeared not only in the palace, but especially in the outlying provinces, threatened a complete overthrow and dissolution of the kingdom.

New powers were needed to realize the great possibilities of a new and strong development, which were

promised by this close contact of so many different German tribes with Roman civilization and Christianity in one united kingdom. These new powers were found in the mayors of the palace, or rather in that one great family which had the origin of its greatness in that position, but which finally realized all these possibilities by the creation of an empire. It was of the greatest significance that the power passing from the enfeebled Merovingians, who retained only the royal title, should go to the Austrasians, that part of the Frankish race which remained most thoroughly German, so that the German element gained a new influence; and that at the same time the union with the Roman civilization and with the church was not broken, but received new life and was still further developed.

The foundation of this larger work was laid, as we have seen, by Pippin of Heristal, the grandson of Arnulf of Metz and of Pippin of Landen. After uniting Austrasia and the West, he proceeded to unite the other German tribes. Among these were the Friesians, whose king, Rathbod, seemed to be threatening the northern borders of the Frankish territory. Pippin conquered him and gave support to the English missionary Willibrod, who was trying to introduce Christianity there. The account of this mission, as Bede gives it, is very interesting. "And when they had come thither, being, moreover, twelve in number, they turned aside to Pippin, leader of the Franks,[1] and were graciously received by him; and

[1] In the last part of the same chapter he is called "the most glorious ruler of the Franks."

because he had lately conquered Hither Friesland, having driven thence King Rathbod, he sent them thither to preach; also assisting them with his imperial authority, lest any one should offer any hindrance to their preaching, and exalting with many benefits those who were willing to receive the faith. . . . But after they who had gone thither had taught in Friesland for some years, Pippin sent Willibrod to Rome, where Sergius still held the pontificate, with the demand that he might be consecrated archbishop for the Friesians. This was done in the year 696. . . . Moreover, Pippin gave him a place for his episcopal see in his famous fortified town which is called Viltaburg, that is, the town of the Vilti." [1]

Pippin died in the year 714, and desired to leave his power to his infant grandson, both his sons having died; but an illegitimate son, Charles, afterwards called Martel, the Hammer, received the support of the Austrasians and took up the work of his father. By a great victory in 717 he gained Neustria and was soon acknowledged by the other parts of the kingdom, thus securing to himself the results gained by his father at the victory of Testry. By concentrating all the power in his own hands, and not confining himself to any single part of the realm, he was able to bring about a more complete unity, which was still further strengthened by the great warfare in which he united all the German peoples against the Mahometans.

His relations with the church are of the utmost

[1] Bede, bk. v., chaps. x., xi.

importance and interest. The bishops, as we have seen, had come to hold positions of great influence, especially in the cities of their residence, not only over the Roman population, but over others, in consequence of their new powers as lords of great estates, with dependent tenants, and possessing almost sovereign rights through the immunities granted to them. These bishoprics were coming into the possession of powerful families, and thus became a great menace to the civil power. Some of the bishops openly resisted the authority of Charles and even denied him entrance to their cities. Charles proceeded quite summarily against them. He removed the refractory bishops from their sees and gave their places, as well as some of the rich abbeys, to his followers and kinsmen. These neglected the spiritual interests and made no pretence to an ecclesiastical order, giving themselves wholly up to the secular rights and possessions belonging to their offices. As Boniface said in a letter to the Pope, "For the most part, in the cities, the episcopal sees are given over to the possession of avaricious laymen or to wicked and worldly clergy to enjoy in a merely secular way."

It was not merely to punish rebellious bishops, however, that Charles bestowed rich church estates upon his followers. It had been the practice in earlier times for the kings and great chiefs to bestow lands as rewards upon their followers, and this practice had grown in frequency and extent. The great ecclesiastics had been induced to follow the same method, except that

they had not bestowed their lands outright, but as *precaria* or *per beneficium*,[1] for a definite or indefinite period, usually for life. Thus, while the church lands were inalienable, the crown lands had been largely disposed of before the Austrasian princes came into power, and they had little with which to reward their followers, their own possessions being quite inadequate. Charles therefore found himself turning to the immense property of the church, with its large tracts of inalienable land. These he proceeded to bestow *in beneficio* upon his followers, not therefore making a complete confiscation for state purposes as a formal secularization, but by irregular and forcible means bestowing the property for occupation or for usufruct. Hence from this time the form of grant *in beneficio*, already in use by the church, was used also by the prince, thus showing a similar character in the grants.[2]

The reign of Charles Martel has been called a rude epoch for the clergy and churches of the Frankish kingdom, but by him and by his successors, Pippin and Charles the Great, the West was saved to civili-

[1] *Precarium*, a grant of land in answer to a request, hence revocable at the will of the grantor; cf. our word "precarious." *Beneficium*, a grant of anything, as a benefit or favor; technically, *in beneficio* or *per beneficium;* also, originally, at the pleasure of the grantor, but usually for life. These two terms are practically synonymous, and when used of lands were applied at first almost exclusively to church lands. "*Beneficium*, if used at all by the kings, was used to remunerate their functionaries, taking the place of a money payment, thus attached to the office rather than the man. . . . It was not always given by the rich to the poor. The *beneficium* has been the roundabout way by which the smaller proprietorship has been lost in the larger." (Fustel de Coulanges, vol. v., pp. 185, 189.)

[2] Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 3–21; Fustel de Coulanges, vol. v., especially pp. 128–192; Adams, pp. 194–226; Emerton, vol. i., pp. 236–255.

zation and to Christianity. The church's two great victories of faith and of organization were won through the victories of the sword of the Franks and of the political order established by the three great Carolingians.

Just on the eve of apparent triumph Arianism had been conquered by the conversion of the Franks, but it had again threatened Europe in the more terrible form of Mahometanism. The devil, cast out, had returned with seven other spirits worse than himself to take possession of the swept and garnished house.

The almost endless theological disputes of the great councils had left a dry theological dogma in place of the living God, and Christian asceticism had taken the place of a living humanity. Mahomet arose with all the zeal of a religious reformer and gained a host of followers inspired with the enthusiasm of fanatical converts. Their watchword was not a theological formula, but the living God; not an abstract theory, but a personal Being, who ruled and governed all things and all men with an absolute sway, and guided all affairs and every event in accordance with a fixed, unalterable purpose. Submission to that will inspired, strengthened, and ennobled these fiery sons of the desert. Man, they knew, was both body and soul, and the full enjoyment of all his powers and faculties, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, in this world and in the next, was the final goal, the eternal reward of all his efforts. All natural pleasures were allowed if nothing was done to the injury of another, but no false stimulation was permitted. "Mahomet," it has been said,

"is a prophet of glory and power; his kingdom is of this world; the earth and all its good things belong to the true believer." With this prophecy his followers went forth, the sword their missionary, and death on the battle-field the surest way to paradise. Swiftly they spread their faith over land and sea. Arabia was won from her old idolatries even before the death of Mahomet in 632; by the middle of the century Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia had yielded to their resistless onset. The banks of the Indus, the limits of the empire of Alexander, were reached in 707, while in the West they swept across North Africa, and in 711 their leader, Tarik, passed the pillars of Hercules, henceforth named after him Djebel-Tarik, Gibraltar, "mountain of Tarik." Twice they attacked Constantinople, but the new invention of the Greek fire kept them at bay, until a decisive victory by the Emperor Leo III. in 717 forced them to halt at the foot of the Taurus Mountains. Thus all the old seats of Christianity in the East and South had been swept away,—Carthage, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch,—and this disappearance of her rivals left Rome supreme.

In the West the already weakened Visigoths of Spain fell an easy prey before their onward march. In 720 they crossed the Pyrenees, and Europe lay at their feet. But a voice had cried, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." In 732 came that great battle when the forces of the East and of the West met for the final issue on the very spot where, two hundred and twenty-five years before, had been fought the

decisive battle between the Franks and the Visigoths, the Catholics and the Arians, for the possession of Gaul. The battle was terrific, but at last the combined forces under Charles won the victory, though with not enough strength, or with too much greed for the booty, to pursue the retreating enemy and end the struggle. This invasion marked the submission of the Aquitanians, and the title of "king" was changed by Eudes for that of "duke."[1] In 733 Charles reconquered Burgundy, and in the following year, with the spoil taken from the Arabs, he built a navy and attacked the Friesians by sea. The Saxons also began a series of attacks, and, as we have seen, the Arabs had only retreated, not submitted, so that Charles was forced in the following years to continue the struggle against them in Provincia.

This necessity had a most important bearing on the slowly forming feudal system, whose elements already have been brought to our notice. Up to this time, holding land under some one else, and owing service as a vassal or dependent of another, had existed separately, nor had there been any necessary connection of military service with either of them. The contests which Charles had to carry on against the Arabs in the South seem to have been the occasion when these were first formally united, and land was granted and held on the condition of performing military service, which is one of the essential features of the feudal system.

[1] Martin, vol. ii., p. 206. It has been maintained that these Aquitanian dukes were related to the Merovingian kings, but Waitz (vol. iii., p. 9, note 1) points out that this has been disproved beyond a doubt.

For the Arabs relied largely on their fleet horses and strong cavalry force; hence it was necessary to introduce a similar equipment into the Frankish army. In the dense forests and wild morasses of the North, foot-soldiers had been used almost exclusively, and mounted warriors had been of little advantage except for predatory raids. The change, therefore, entailed great expense, and Charles was obliged to aid his followers by granting to them lands which they could hold on condition of rendering military service. This also explains his seizure of church lands, as he could not get enough for the purpose elsewhere.[1]

Indeed, he was in great need. Placed between two hydra-headed monsters, the paganism of the still unconverted tribes in the North and the Mahometanism of the fierce Arabs in the South, he was obliged to maintain the greatest energy and ceaseless warfare. The Saxons in the North still held out. Christianity made no headway there, and their continual uprisings harassed the Franks. The Merovingian king died in 737, but no chronicler recorded his death, and Charles took no pains to provide a successor.

Meantime the Arabs had fortified themselves in Avignon and were spreading eastward. Charles again turned his arms against them, and, aided by Liutprand and the Lombards, finally drove them to the far South. At last, in 740, all the enemies of the Franks were subdued, and peace reigned supreme.

But it was a peace which had cost much and was maintained by oppression. It rested with especial

[1] Adams, pp. 206–208.

heaviness upon the Frankish church. She was forced to sit by and see her wealth confiscated and distributed among the Frankish leaders and their warlike followers, and her lands assigned to them as feudal holdings to be used for the support of warriors and the furnishing of horses and of arms.

Although Charles thus made himself a terror and a tyrant to the bishops and abbots of the Frankish church, he was recognized as the only hope of the Christianity of the West, and his name was held in the highest honor at Rome. One of the Frankish bishops saw, in a vision, Charles Martel delivered over to the torments of the damned in the nethermost hell for having robbed the churches of God of their possessions;[1] while Boniface writes that without his aid the church could not have been preserved and defended, nor paganism and idolatry destroyed.

[1] Mombert, pp. 28, 29.

CHAPTER IX.

BONIFACE, THE "APOSTLE OF GERMANY"—THE CONVERSION OF THE EASTERN GERMANS—ORGANIZATION OF THE FRANKISH CHURCH—UNION WITH ROME.

NOT only is the conversion of the people living along the borders of the Frankish kingdom closely connected with the name and work of Boniface, but also the establishment and unification of the whole ecclesiastical organization of the Franks. So important and extensive were the results which he accomplished in this great work that he has been called the "Apostle of Germany." His baptismal name was Winfrid, of which Boniface is the Latin form, taken when he entered the monastery, or perhaps given him by the Pope to signify his connection with and commission by the Roman Church.

He was born about 680, at Crediton, near Exeter, in that part of Wessex now known as Devonshire. His father intended him to follow secular pursuits and to be the heir and administrator of his large property. But the boy very early showed signs of a studious and religious disposition, and was accordingly placed

in a monastery at Exeter, whence he removed to Nutsall (Netley?), near Winchester. Here he soon gained a reputation for scholarship and teaching ability, and gained the friendship of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to whom many of his most valuable letters were written.

Like so many other English youths, he was fond of travel, and was attracted by great opportunities for missionary work on the Continent. Soon after his ordination to the priesthood, therefore, he left England with a few companions, and directed his way to the Friesians, intending to work among them. Here he found Willibrod, an English missionary from York, who had arrived in Friesia soon after the battle of Testry, when the power of the Franks at the beginning of Pippin's career was very great. Willibrod's name also had been changed, and he had received the name of Clement when, in the year 696, Pope Sergius I. had consecrated him Bishop of Utrecht. But Rathbod, the King of the Friesians, having taken advantage of the death of Pippin and the consequent disorder before the power was settled in the hands of Charles Martel, had begun to devastate the churches and to stop the work of the Christian missionaries.

Boniface accordingly returned to England, and in 718 made a fresh start. This time he went directly to Rome, where he received the aid and advice of the Pope, Gregory II., and a general commission for missionary work in central Europe. There is a great significance in this early period of preparation for his great life-work. He was born in the time of Theodore, who had been consecrated and sent to England

as Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian, in 668, four years after the English, at the Council of Whitby, had proclaimed their adherence to the ecclesiastical rites and customs held by the church at Rome. By the work of Theodore this action had been confirmed and its results crystallized; schools were established, which did away with the need of dependence upon Ireland for intellectual light; the English church was brought into final unity with itself and with Rome; and the elements of the Eastern system of diocesan organization, developed under imperial influence and laid down in the canons of Chalcedon, were introduced into England. The Council of Hertford, where this great work of diocesan systematization was formally adopted and established, had been held in 673,[1] only a few years before the birth of Boniface; consequently his early life and education coincided with the first freshness of the new system. It was therefore with the outlines and early practical working of this plan strongly fixed in his mind, and with that great respect and deep gratitude and devotion to the Roman see which was so sincerely felt at that time in the English church, expressed in the pages of Bede's history and in the works of English missionaries, that Boniface presented himself before the Bishop of Rome in 718, and received his commission from Gregory II.

His first endeavors, after leaving Rome, were among the Bavarians and Thuringians, restoring discipline and introducing order in the field of the un-

[1] Hatch, p. 30. The author confuses the Council of Hertford with that held at Hatfield in 680.

organized labors of the Irish and early Frankish missionaries. But his work here did not meet with very much success, and Rathbod of Friesia being dead, he made his way to Utrecht, the scene of his first attempts. He remained here for three years, assisting Willibrod and learning much in the way of methods and practical experience. In 722 Willibrod offered him a bishopric, but his restless zeal would not permit him to settle permanently anywhere.

He accordingly left the Friesians, and took up work among the Hessians and Saxons, with such success that in the following year he was summoned to Rome by the Pope. Here he was examined in his faith, was ordained bishop without any special see,[1] and took the famous oath which bound him and his work to permanent unity with Rome, producing results fraught with such vital and far-reaching import to the Christianity of the West. The essential part of this oath reads as follows:[2] "In the name of God the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, . . . I, Boniface, by the grace of God, bishop, do promise to thee, O blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and to thy vicar, the blessed Gregory, Pope, and to his successors, . . . that I will maintain the whole faith and purity of the holy Catholic faith, and by the help of God will continue in the unity of that faith, . . . and that in no way will I agree with anything contrary to the unity of the general and universal church under any persuasion whatever; but, as I have said, I will in every way maintain my faith pure, and my coöperation constantly for thee, and for the benefit

[1] *Episcopus regionarius.* [2] Gieseler, vol. ii., p. 26. note 3.

of thy church, upon which was bestowed by God the power to bind and to loose, and for thy vicar aforesaid, and for his successors. And whenever I find that the conduct of the presiding officers of the churches contradicts the ancient decrees of the holy fathers, I will have no fellowship or connection with them, but, on the contrary, I will prevent them if I can, and if not I will report faithfully at once to my apostolic lord. . . . Moreover, this declaration of my oath, I, Boniface, a humble bishop, have written with my own hand, and upon the most holy body of the blessed Peter I have taken the oath as above written, which also I promise to keep, God being my witness and judge."

The significance of this oath is not merely that it bound Boniface and his work to the Roman see, but that it was the oath taken by the bishops of the suburban and dependent churches of Rome, with such changes as the different conditions required, and with the substitution of the clause promising to oppose anything against the Pope for the similar clause regarding the emperor and the state.[1]

That the work of Boniface was not only to Christianize, but to establish and to extend the ecclesiastical system which Theodore had brought to England from Rome and the East, and to unite this whole system under the Bishop of Rome, is shown in an old report of the object of his mission: "That he should go beyond the Alps, and in those parts where heresy was rife should substitute therefor his saving teaching."[2]

[1] Neander, vol. iii., pp. 48, 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 49, note 1.

The lack of discipline and of effective organization in the work of the Scotch and Irish missionaries, however sincere and earnest that work might be, had allowed the springing up of corrupt and heretical notions and practices, and had afforded no permanent means of defence against barbarous and pagan tribes without, and lawless, half-converted men within the Christian communities.

The increasing and ever-widening power of the Bishop of Rome, instructing, directing, restraining, and consolidating, a power enforced by the aid and support of the Frankish rulers, which was made effectual by the alliance of the Frankish kingdom with the Roman Church, met a real necessity, and gave at once the protection and discipline needed to bring these wild hordes under the influence and training of Christianity.

The most effective agent in this great work was the English missionary Boniface. For accomplishing it he was well fitted, being endowed with great prudence and foresight, a scholar and a teacher with "a rare genius for organization and administration." By nature as well as by his oath he was the foe to all individualistic and unorganized effort, and saw at once its weakness and its error. To him true Christianity was impossible except in union with Rome, and his one great aim was to make Germany as loyal and devoted to the Pope as was his native England.

From Rome he proceeded immediately to the court of Charles Martel with letters of commendation. Under the protection of this powerful prince he followed the victorious armies of the Franks among the Hessians, though he was not very well pleased

with the enforced relations with the Frankish and Celtic missionaries, who differed widely from him on important subjects. His severe denunciation of them may be explained by the fact that to him their marriages were nothing but fornication and adultery, their social life and lack of asceticism merely debauchery and drunkenness. Without question some of them served in war, and their lack of discipline and obedience to some strong central power called forth his bitterest opposition. His final and permanent success must be his justification. "It is doubtful whether, in the barbarous condition of those times, and amid the commotion of almost constant civil wars, the independent and scattered labors of the anti-Roman missionaries could have survived as well and made as strong an impression upon the German nation as a consolidated Christianity with a common centre of unity and authority."[1] The opinion of Ranke in this connection is also suggestive: "We ought not to consider the Christianization of Germany only from the point of view of religious belief and teaching. However important these may be, it was of world-historical importance that some counteracting influence should be prepared against Islamism, which was pressing ever deeper into the continent of Europe. Boniface knew right well what had happened in Spain; the work of conversion which he was carrying on was the chief cause why the same events did not repeat themselves in Gaul and Germany."[2]

[1] Schaff, vol. iv., p. 99.

[2] Ranke, "Weltgeschichte," vol. i., pp. 286, 287. Quoted by Hodgkin, vol. vi., p. 423, note 1.

It was the work of consolidation, however, and the establishment of the diocesan system on the Continent which Boniface accomplished in his union with the state on one side and with the Church of Rome on the other, which would have been impossible otherwise, and which laid the necessary foundations for the preservation and future spread of Christianity among the Franks and their dependents. Monasteries and bishoprics, as centres of learning and of authority, were established in suitable places, testifying to his practical wisdom and foresight. Monks and nuns came over from England as teachers and exemplars of right living among the people whom they wished to elevate.

The accession of Gregory III. in 731 made no break in the friendly relations with the Papacy, and in 732 the Pope sent the pallium to Boniface and made him an archbishop, though he was not by this act made Primate of all Germany, as some have supposed. His position was rather that of a metropolitan, in whose charge were placed the more northern districts where he had specially labored, particularly the bishoprics of Tongres, Cologne, Utrecht, Worms, and Spires.[1]

In the year 738 he made his third and last visit to Rome, when he was invested with the powers and authority of a papal legate, with a special commission to visit the Bavarian church. Here he effected a complete organization, and established the four bishoprics of Salzburg, Freising, Passau, and Regensburg or Ratisbon. He held a synod of the Bavarian

1 Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 41, 42.

church in 740, and soon after established several other bishoprics farther north: Eichstädt, Würzburg, Buraburg, and Erfurt.

The death of Charles Martel in 741 opened a new field of opportunity, made possible still closer relations with the state, and led the way to a more timate union with Rome. Karlmann and Pippin, who succeeded their father as mayors of the palace, were more favorably disposed to the church and more inclined to enter into closer relations with Rome. Charles Martel had not been very discriminating between the Roman and the independent clergy, he had been quite willing to allow the clergy to take part in his battles, and he had not shown much respect for church property when it was needed to support the army in the wars against the Saracens.

The work of organization which Boniface had so well carried on among the Friesians, Hessians, Thuringians, and Bavarians of the North and East he was now enabled to complete by the establishment of the diocesan and synodal system in the great centres of the Frankish kingdom.

The first so-called German synod was held in 742, at the request of Karlmann, to establish order in the church in his dominion, where ecclesiastical affairs had been in great confusion for the past sixty or seventy years.[1] Boniface, next to Karlmann, in whose name the acts of the synod were published, held the chief place as archbishop and papal legate.[2] From this time the movement went on: new bishoprics

[1] Jaffé, ol. iii., Bonif. Ep. 42.

[2] "Missus Sancti Petri," Boretius, vol. i., p. 25, art. 1.

were created in the chief cities, and the clergy of the district made subordinate to their bishop, while the bishops of the province were united under the bishop of the chief city or metropolis as their head under the Pope, and so-called metropolitan or archbishop. Synods were to be held each year, by which a general oversight and systematic discipline could be maintained. Thus Boniface succeeded in introducing and establishing throughout the Frankish kingdom, by the middle of the eighth century, the systematic organization that Theodore had established among the English in the last part of the seventh.

As yet Boniface had had no fixed residence, and was liable to the same charge he had brought against the Celtic clergy, that of ordination without a fixed diocese—absolute ordination, as it was called; but in 745 he settled in Mainz, and that became the seat of his archbishopric, the former bishop of the see having been deposed by Boniface himself, for hunting and for having avenged the death of his father by killing the murderer.

In 744 Boniface laid the foundations of the monastery of Fulda, destined to become one of the three great centres of learning in Europe. The other two were St. Gall, founded by Gallus, the disciple of Columbanus, in 646, and Reichenau, founded in 724 by Pirminius, a Frankish missionary. In 744, also, Boniface secured the condemnation of Adelbert, Clement, and Virgil, Bishop of Salzburg, whom he regarded as wicked and false clergy because not professing allegiance to his system, nor working in harmony with his views. Some of the charges of peculiar

and dangerous teachings may have been well founded, but most of them seem to have been due to prejudice, ignorance, and misunderstanding.[1]

Boniface endeavored to develop the metropolitan system also, whereby, as he says in a letter to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops should hold the same relation to the metropolitans as the metropolitans, in their turn, should hold to the Pope.[2] This scheme was not fully carried out, however, as but one, or perhaps three, metropolitans were appointed for only a part of the Frankish kingdom.[3]

With the next Pope, Zacharias, Boniface does not seem to have had such intimate and friendly relations; one or two of his letters give evidence of a firm opposition to much that he understood was permitted at Rome.[4]

It is now pretty clearly established, and quite generally accepted, that Boniface had little or nothing to do with the political intrigues of the Pope and the attempts of Pippin to gain the Frankish throne. He might have known of Pippin's coronation at Soissons in 751, but it is quite improbable that he had any part in it, as his name is not mentioned in the accounts by the early chroniclers, and his own letters show that the disfavor in which he stood at that time at the court of Pippin would preclude his participation.[5]

[1] Neander, vol. iii., pp. 56–63; Kurtz, vol. i., pp. 470–472.

[2] Jaffé, vol. iii., Bonif. Ep. 73.

[3] Boretius, vol. i., p. 29, art. 3; Jaffé, vol. iii., Bonif. Ep. 48, 49; cf. Neander, vol. iii., pp. 64, 65.

[4] Jaffé, vol. iii., Bonif. Ep. 51, "Ad Zach."

[5] Kurtz, vol. i., pp. 470, 474; Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 63–67; Alzog, vol. ii., p. 119, note 1.

In 753 Boniface resigned his archbishopric, and secured the appointment of Lull, one of his most distinguished disciples, as his successor, while he himself, with about fifty companions, again started on a missionary expedition among the Friesians. Here, on the 5th of June, 754 or 755, he was murdered by a band of heathens, and thus secured a martyr's crown. "His bones were deposited first at Utrecht, then at Mainz, and at last in Fulda. Soon after his death an English synod chose him, together with Pope Gregory and Augustine, patron of the English church. In 1875 Pope Pius IX. directed the Catholics of Germany and England to invoke especially the aid of St. Boniface in the distress of modern times."[1]

[1] Schaff, vol. iv., p. 96.

CHAPTER X.

ICONOCLASM AND THE PAPACY—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VENERATION OF SAINTS, RELICS, AND IMAGES—THE EMPEROR LEO III. AND THE ICONOCLASTIC EDICTS—POPE GREGORY II. AND THE SITUATION IN ITALY—THE EVE OF REVOLT.

SLAM, the religion of Mahomet, had spread with rapid strides through countries which had been indeed the very cradle of Christianity or among the first to welcome and receive it, but in which, alas! that Christianity had become weakened and corrupted by endless theological disputes, and by a false asceticism which had dried up the sources of its vigor, had left its faith petrified in the mechanical technicalities of a lifeless metaphysic, and had rendered its worship an elaborate but barren ceremonial, characterized more by superstition and idolatry than by spirit and truth.

Not only were new objects of worship brought in as intermediaries between the soul of the worshipper and God, thus tending to fix the mind on lower forms of the divine manifestation rather than on the divine

Being himself, but material representations of those intermediaries began to be employed, in order, it was said, to concentrate and hold the attention. Thus the veneration of saints and their relics and images was taking the place of the spiritual worship of God.

The exaggerated worship of the Virgin Mary, confirmed by the title "Mother of God," given to her by the Fourth General Council, only led the way in this movement. To the cultus of the Virgin Mary was added that of saints and martyrs, to whose names were attached long biographies filled with legendary accounts of miraculous deeds. In order to make a deeper impression upon the minds of the people, especially of those who were unable to read, images of these saints, pictures and statues, were produced, and relics, either their bones, or clothing or other articles associated or believed to have been associated with them in life, were exhibited with great care and reverence.

Soon it was discovered that the miraculous deeds which the saint was said to have performed in life, such as marvellous cures, rescues, and preservation from danger, were accomplished also by these relics, and thus they became the objects of acts of reverence, prostrations, prayers, and rich offerings at the shrines built in their honor, and a cult grew up around them, differing practically in no way from the acts of divine worship, though receiving a different name.[1]

As early as the sixth century churches had been adorned with pictures and statues of the saints, be-

[1] *προσκύνησις*, and not *λατρεία*.

fore which special acts of reverence, such as prostrations, were performed, and by the beginning of the eighth century the use of images as helps to and objects of devotion had become universal.

But their use, at first at any rate, seems to have been far more general in the East than in the West. Serenus, Bishop of Massilia (Marseilles), had thrown out and destroyed images in his churches; and although Gregory the Great, on a previous occasion, sending a picture of Christ and other pictures to a hermit who had asked for them, said that they were not intended to serve as objects of adoration, but merely as memorials, he wrote to Serenus as follows: "We have praised the zeal which you have shown lest anything made by hands should be adored, but we deem it wrong that you should destroy those pictures, for painting is made use of in the churches in order that those who are unable to read may at least understand, in looking on the walls, what they cannot read in the manuscripts."[1]

Reference has been made very often to this declaration made by Gregory I., and it was quoted frequently in defence of the use of images; but so much superstition and practical idolatry had come to be associated with them that the Emperor Leo III. declared himself resolutely opposed to their very existence. In taking this position it is very probable that he had been influenced by the sect of the Paulicians, which rose during the seventh century in the northern part of Syria, near the birthplace of Leo himself.

[1] "Epistles of St. Gregory," bk. ix., Ep. 9.

The Paulicians were a Christian sect professing a form of dualism, and having perhaps some early relation with Manichean doctrines. They looked upon creation as the work of the evil principle, and regarded as evil all material forms, including the human body. Their opposition to the prevalent Christianity was directed most strongly against the cult which was growing up around the Virgin Mary and the cross. It is well known that Leo's opposition to Mariolatry was a prominent feature in his attempt at reform, and that he gave to the Paulicians letters of protection.

It is still more probable, however, that he was more strongly influenced by the taunts of Jews and Mahometans, who declared openly that the Christians were no better than pagans and idolaters in their multiplication of the objects of worship, and in their representation of those objects in material forms and images. It might seem, also, that image-worship was one great hindrance to their conversion, which, at least in the case of the Jews, Leo tried so hard to accomplish.

The position of the Christian church was, indeed, in marked contrast with those sublime words in the "Octavius" of Minucius Felix, so that the conditions of the third century and those of the eighth seem to be exactly reversed.

Cæcilius, the opponent of Christianity in the third century, thus taunts the Christians: "For why do they endeavor, with such pains, to conceal and to cloak what they worship, since honorable things always rejoice in publicity, while crimes are kept secret? Why have they no altars, no temples, no consecrated

images?" Octavius, the apologist of Christianity, gives a most eloquent paraphrase of the forty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, and thus answers the slurs of Cæcilius: "But do you think we conceal what we worship, if we have not temples and altars? And yet what image of God shall I make, since, if you think rightly, man himself is the image of God? . . . Were it not better that he should be dedicated in our mind, consecrated in our heart? . . . Therefore, he who cultivates innocence supplicates God; he who cultivates justice makes offerings to God; he who abstains from fraudulent practices propitiates God; he who snatches man from danger slaughters the most acceptable victim. These are our sacrifices, these are our rites of God's worship; thus, among us, he who is most just is he who is most religious. But certainly the God whom we worship we neither show nor see. Verily for this reason we believe him to be God: that we can be conscious of him, but cannot see him; . . . for from where is God afar off, when all things heavenly and earthly, and which are beyond the province of the universe, are known to God, are full of God? Everywhere he is not only very near us, but he is infused into us. . . . Not only do we act in him, but also, I had almost said, we live in him."[1]

Leo seems to have been influenced especially by a Phrygian bishop named Constantine, and by a certain Beser, a renegade and convert from Mahometanism, who stood high in the imperial favor. His position had a theological side as well, and thus connected itself with the disputes regarding Monophysitism

[1] "Ante-Nicene Fathers," Amer. ed., vol. iv., pp. 178, 187, 193.

and Monothelitism, which had rent the church and distracted the empire during the preceding two or three centuries. "The Monothelitism of the seventh century was a connecting-link between Monophysitism and Iconoclasm, but there were two new influences which affected the eighth-century movement and gave it a peculiar character, namely, the Paulician doctrines and the Mahometan religion." [1]

Alzog, or his translators, while admitting the abuse of images, may tell us that "the true solution of the whole difficulty, and the motives which prompted imperial action, are to be sought in the meddlesomeness of those emperors who, like their predecessors in regard to the earlier dogmatic controversies, were always interfering in ecclesiastical legislation." [2] The justification of their action, however, appears when we consider how closely united were the two institutions of church and state, and how seriously the integrity of the empire was threatened by any schism or strife or weakness in the church. Furthermore, Leo was actuated undoubtedly by a spirit of general opposition and reaction against the gross materialism and grovelling superstition which he saw all about him, and which was brought out in bold relief by the striking contrast to Christianity afforded by both Judaism and Mahometanism in these respects. The use of pictures and statues in the churches was only one form against which this rationalistic spirit showed itself. The opposition was connected with the question of art

1 Bury, vol. ii., p. 429.
2 Alzog, vol. ii., p. 208, note 1.

only remotely, if at all. The earlier representations were crude and ugly—indeed, the ugliest having proved in all religions the object of the greatest devotion, as is shown by the image of Diana in the temple of Ephesus. The early pictures of the Virgin and the Christ represented neither the gracious motherhood of the one nor the tender humility of the other. It was only by the outward symbols of dress, conventional forms and signs, the aureola, the halo, and the nimbus, that the different personages of Christian veneration and worship could be recognized. In the early pictures of the holy family any female figure would do for the Virgin and any child for the Christ, if the conventional symbols of divinity were present. It was only when higher conceptions arose and real art began that religious painting became truly inspiring, and painters like Raphael and Michael Angelo sought to depict the divine by the noblest and highest human beauty. In the earlier times, however, it was in the East, where the old art instinct had not completely died out, that pictures and statues were most numerous, while the West, where the artistic sense remained yet undeveloped, was devoted to relics.[1]

The famous edict of Leo III., issued in 726, began the controversy which shook the very foundations of the church and of the empire, and lasted for over a century and a quarter. That edict, sometimes mistakenly supposed to have been merely an order to

[1] To-day the Eastern Church allows only paintings and mosaics, excluding statues and sculptures, which are more in use in the Roman Church, though she allows both.

raise the pictures out of the reach of the kisses and other acts of worship of the people, decreed the complete removal of all pictures from the churches throughout the empire.[1]

Yet this was the same Leo whose glorious victory over the Mahometans in 718 had saved eastern Europe from the Saracen yoke, rescued Christianity from the danger of complete annihilation, and, by stopping the waves of Mahometan invasion at the foot of the Taurus, had accomplished for the East what Charles Martel did for the West a few years afterwards on the field of Poitiers, when he stopped the Mahometans from advance beyond the Pyrenees. The first act under the edict of the emperor was the destruction of a most popular and deeply revered image of Christ over the gate of the imperial palace. This aroused a storm of opposition, and called forth the angry protests of the Pope. In 730 Leo deposed Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and put in his place the patriarch's secretary, Anastasius, who favored the imperial policy, and soon after issued a manifesto against images, thus giving ecclesiastical authority to the edict of the emperor.

This attack on the venerated symbols and objects of adoration roused Pope Gregory to action, and although the two letters which have come down to us

1 "Lib. Pont.," vol. i., p. 404, c. 17; Paulus Diaconus, bk. vi., c. 49; Theophanes, "Chronographia," p. 338. Mentioned by Gregorovius, vol. ii., p. 225. See also Bury, vol. ii., p. 432 and note 4; p. 436, note 1.

Hefele, vol. v., pp. 260–400.

"The edicts on image-worship are collected in Goldastus, 'Imperialia Decreta de Cultu Imaginum,' ed. Francof., 1608." (Hardwick, "Middle Age," p. 73, note 1.)

as written by the Pope to Leo must be regarded as the fabrication of a later age, he stoutly opposed the enforcement of the decrees in Italy.[1]

Already, however, the relations on all sides had become severely strained. The weakness of the exarchs, the imperial officers at Ravenna, their greed and tyranny, had tended more and more surely to drive the Italian people to the care and protection of the Pope, leading them to see in him not only a bulwark against heresy and schism in the church, but also a defender of their civil liberties and the true preserver of their political unity.

The immediate occasion of their revolt seems to have been an imperial order to the exarch, who proceeded to levy a new tax on the provinces of Italy and to confiscate some church property. This was opposed by the Pope, and his opposition was supported quite generally throughout Italy. Plots were set on foot against the life of the Pope, and bitter strife ensued.

The Lombards, thinking doubtless to foment discord and increase the weakness of resistance, took advantage of the occasion to invade the Pentapolis. Just at this juncture, 727, the iconoclastic edicts of the emperor appeared in Italy. Gregory at once denounced the imperial heresy, and urged all to be on their guard and not to destroy the images. This increased the popular resistance to the imperial power

[1] The genuineness of these letters is doubted by Hodgkin, vol. vi., pp. 501–505; Döllinger, "Fables," etc., pp. 253–261; and Duchesne, "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 418, note 43. Hefele still holds to their genuineness ("History of Councils," vol. v., pp. 289–298).

and the opposition to the exarch. "Scorning to yield obedience to his orders, they elected dukes for themselves in every part of Italy, and thus they all provided for their own safety and that of the pontiff."[1]

The revolt, we are told, went so far that the design was formed of electing a new emperor in Italy; but Gregory made every effort to prevent this, and exhorted them to maintain their allegiance to the Roman empire of the East.[2]

Döllinger asserts, however, that "after the year 728 the Pope did make an attempt to form a confederation of states, which was to maintain itself independently alike of the Greeks and of the Lombards; the head and central point of it was to be the papal chair."[3] But the plan came to nothing, though the idea remained to bear fruit in the "Donation of Constantine." The Papacy soon realized that the time had not come to throw off the power of the emperor or to attempt any new scheme of political autonomy. The threatening attitude of the Lombards clearly showed that the breakdown of the imperial power in Italy, weak as it was, would bring about a universal Lombard dominion, in which the Papacy would be completely swallowed up. True, the Pope might look to the Franks; but Charles Martel was overburdened with wars in his own dominions, and the Lombard king was his strong and faithful ally. Nothing

[1] "Liber Pontificalis," vol. i., p. 404, c. 17. Quoted by Hodgkin, vol. vi., pp. 449, 450.

[2] Paulus Diaconus, "De Gestis Langob.," bk. vi., c. 49; "Liber Pontificalis," vol. i., pp. 404, 405, c. 18.

[3] Döllinger, "Fables," p. 121.

remained, therefore, at present for the Pope but to use all his influence on the side of the emperor against the Lombard, for submission to a distant emperor was far better than subjection to a strong and ever-present Lombard king.

CHAPTER XI.

ITALY AND THE PAPACY—THE OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM—THE LOMBARDS—LIUTPRAND AND GREGORY II.

THE division of the empire into east and west after the death of Theodosius, in 395, was the beginning of the end of any real imperial power in the West. Province after province fell a prey to the incursions of the northern tribes, and Italy itself, devastated and depopulated by war and famine, was overrun by foreign invaders.

In 476 the farce of a separate emperor, who had become a mere figurehead, the creature of some successful barbarian commander, was discontinued, and the name of emperor ceased among the people of the West, while the Rugian Odoacer ruled at Ravenna as patrician, and received, in submission to the one emperor at Constantinople, the government of the Italians.

Misunderstandings soon sprang up, however, and, either at his own request or by imperial command, Theodoric, the leader of the Ostrogoths, who still lingered near the Eastern capital, marched with his

Goths against Italy and overthrew Odoacer. In 493 the struggle ended, and Theodoric proclaimed himself King of the Romans and Goths, although he still acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor. As the ruler of Italy, in spite of the violence and treachery which stained the beginning and the end of his reign, "he restored," says Gibbon, "an age of peace and prosperity,"[1] and, says Machiavelli, "brought the country to such a state of greatness that her sufferings were no longer recognizable."[2]

Whether this be an overestimate or not of the great work of Theodoric, the Ostrogothic kingdom was not destined to last long beyond the lifetime of its founder.

Theodoric was an alien, unable to win the sympathy and support of the people; an Arian, exposed to the bitter opposition of the church, and without any religious organization or centralized system to uphold him; the object, before long, of the fear and jealousy of the emperor—three insurmountable obstacles to a permanent success, and presenting a most instructive contrast with his contemporary, Clovis, King of the Franks.

Theodoric died in 526, and his kingdom was drowned in the seas of its own blood. Under the great Justinian, the famous generals Belisarius and Narses endeavored to win back the territory which was slipping from the imperial grasp, and by a series of struggles, lasting from 536 until 552, restored Italy to the empire. The imperial rule was now established

[1] Gibbon, chap. xxxv.
[2] Machiavelli, "History of Florence," bk. i., chap. ii.

as an exarchate, with the seat of power at Ravenna. But with the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom came the ruin and decay of the Rome and Italy of antiquity, and to the glories of Theodoric's short reign succeeded the devastation and confusion of the two centuries of Lombard anarchy.

In Rome, however, a new power had been growing up, which was to impart a greater glory than her ancient lustre to the city of the ages, and make her once more the mistress of the world, with a wider and more absolute sway than she had ever known before.

The gradual rise of the Church of Rome to the chief position among the churches of the Christian world, and the consequently greatly increased importance of the Bishop of Rome, has been traced already, and attention has been called to the process by which that supremacy was gradually removed from the foundations of historic development, ecclesiastical expediency, and actual service to what seemed the surer foundation of divine order and command. Though the Bishop of Rome might owe his power, as has been shown, to the movements and developments of history, he claimed henceforth to deduce his title to supremacy from St. Peter as "Prince of the Apostles," and as "first Bishop of Rome," from whom, in a direct and unbroken line of succession, he traced at once his position and authority.

While this ecclesiastical power continued to grow and to spread, the Papacy began also to take on a new form and significance, owing partly to its close connections with the civil power and to what it had learned therefrom, and partly, and perhaps chiefly,

to the exigencies of events. In other words, we have to note the beginnings of its temporal power and possessions, which brought it into new relations and held out before it new possibilities and ambitions.

The political life of Rome closed with the overthrow of the Goths, who for a while upheld the institutions and seemed about to restore the ancient glories of the state. With the fall of Theodoric and the reconquest of Italy by the emperor, the last shadow of independent political life passed away, and the national spirit and consciousness seemed to have lost its centre and rallying-point. But as the civil and political glory of Rome grew dim and faded away, the ecclesiastical preëminence of the Papacy emerged strong and vigorous, prepared to hold together the remnant of the Western Empire in a moral union capable of surviving the shock of political dissolution, and to preserve the treasure of the traditions, law, order, language, and culture, and, indeed, the very spirit, of ancient Rome. The empire was torn to pieces, and Rome herself had fallen before the hordes of barbarians which poured like tempestuous floods over her tottering walls; but the Church of Rome overawed and conquered the conquerors of Rome, Christianized, civilized, and disarmed them, transforming them from destroying foes into submissive children. More than all this, the church, the Papacy, took the place of the ancient state and senate of Rome, and became the centre of the energy and national spirit of the people. Further attacks and threatening dangers only intensified this feeling and increased the vigor of the papal activity. Amid the incessant change and confusion, the Papacy

alone was permanent and enduring, at once a centre of unity and a refuge from anarchy, to the evident advantage of its temporal as well as its ecclesiastical authority. The manner and method of the election of the Pope tended to secure popular support and to preserve confidence. The clergy, the army, and the people, the three orders in Rome, took part in the papal election as three distinct bodies, although the necessity of confirmation by the emperor, or by his representative, the exarch at Ravenna, gave opportunity for the exercise of a strong imperial influence. This influence made itself felt also in the fact, first appearing in the year 535, that the Pope was required to be represented by an *apocrisiarius*, or permanent ambassador, not only at Ravenna with the exarch, but also at Constantinople with the emperor, the significance of which is seen in the fact that the position at Constantinople was usually a stepping-stone to the Papacy itself.

It has been well said that the preservation of Rome seems a law of history; and the last great danger of all, which we are now to consider, the Lombard invasion, furnishes only another confirmation of its truth. As some great storm descending from the north, wrapping all in mist and darkness, out of which the crashing of thunder and the fall of rain are heard, and the flashing of lightning and the rush of storm-clouds are seen, till finally, clearing away, the strong and deeply founded houses appear still standing, while barns and sheds are overthrown and swept away, so did the Lombard hosts reveal the strong and sweep away the weak, and when their power passed away

it left the Papacy strong, independent, and free from the East forever.

The Langobards, as they were called, had their original home on the banks of the Elbe, and were a strong and cruel people. Moving southward, they established their first kingdom, during the early part of the sixth century, on the banks of the Upper Danube. So far as they were Christians, they, like the other converted German tribes, held the Arian faith, which had been spread among them by Ulfilas and the other Gothic missionaries. As they drew toward the south their name was softened into "Lombards," but this was not attended with any corresponding softening of character and disposition. They had been kept back from Italy by the strength of the Ostrogothic kingdom, but after its overthrow and the death of Justinian there was no further check to their advance. Invited, it is said, to the invasion of Italy by the general Narses, in revenge for what seemed to him his disgraceful recall to Constantinople, they made themselves masters of Italy under their leader Alboin. One after another the cities fell under the sword of the barbarian, and the old civilization was speedily displaced. While the Goths had protected Latin civilization, the Lombards destroyed it. In 572 they fixed the seat of their power in Theodoric's old capital of Pavia, and soon their dominion spread over all Italy, with the exception of the exarchate of Ravenna, the district of the Pentapolis, and the duchies of Rome and Naples. The valley of the Po, since called Lombardy, formed the centre of their power, the whole territory being

divided into thirty-six duchies, the chief of which were Friuli, Beneventum, and Spoleto. Rome, in dire dismay, sent a solemn deputation of senators and priests, with rich gifts of money, to supplicate the emperor for aid. But the Persian attacks on the east, the Slavs on the Danube, as well as civil dissensions, required all his attention and military force, though he did send a small body of troops to Ravenna and advised the Romans to use the gold they had brought to him to buy off the Lombards.

The civil rulers at Rome were a duke and a master of the knights, but often they were absent or the offices vacant. The exarch at Ravenna, far from being able to render any aid, was greatly in need of help for himself. In this moment of supreme necessity the kingdom of the Franks, rising, under Clovis, on the ruins of the empire in Gaul, shone like a light in a dark place, and seemed to show the way to protection and safety. Their conversion to the Catholic instead of the Arian form of Christianity seemed a mark of the direct interposition of Providence, and led Pelagius II. to declare that he "believed that they had been divinely raised up to save Rome." But the time had not yet come for their active interposition. Not by arms, but by the majesty of the Roman name and the awe inspired by Gregory the Great, who became Bishop of Rome in 590, was the city to be saved from the Lombards. Once more Rome owed her preservation to the courage and moral influence of the bishop of her church. Even more than this she owed to Gregory, rightly called the Great, for great he was alike in Christian virtues

and in far-seeing statesmanship. To his preëminent power and skill were due undoubtedly the freeing of Rome from the Lombards and the rapid growth of the Roman see to the supremacy of the West. His first sermon at Rome reads almost like her funeral oration, so weighed down were men's minds with the ruin of the empire. In him, however, she was destined to behold in a great degree her restorer.

Milman has ably presented him to us, first, as a Christian bishop, organizing and completing the ritual and offices of the church, and as administrator of the patrimony of the Roman see and its distributor to its various pious uses; secondly, as the Patriarch of the West, exercising authority over the clergy and churches in Italy, in Gaul, and in other parts of Europe, as the converter of the Lombards from Arianism and of the Saxons of Britain from heathenism, and in his conduct to pagans, Jews, and heretics, as maintaining the independence of the Western ecclesiastical power against the East; thirdly, as the virtual sovereign of Rome, a position which he was almost compelled to assume as guardian of the city and protector of the Roman people against the Lombards, owing to the neglect or powerlessness of their natural defenders.[1] As such there is little to be added to the presentation there given.

Such popes as Innocent I., Leo I., and Gregory I. show the true foundation of the Papacy, and when and how the Church of Rome gained her ecclesiastical supremacy. Indeed, Gregory's influence far outweighed the power of the imperial officers, for

[1] Milman, bk. iii., chap. vii.

the Romans reverenced as their master and preserver a bishop who united in his person the episcopal dignity and the renown of illustrious descent.

Already the property of the Church of Rome had reached a wide extent, both within the city and on the banks of the Tiber in each direction. The church had become the possessor also of the Roman Campagna, thus ruling over wide-spread districts in Latium, Sabinum, and Tuscany, as also in the most distant provinces of Italy.[1]

Slowly but surely the development proceeded. Pope after pope enriched the city with the choicest products of architecture, painting, and sculpture, and strengthened the papal influence within and beyond the city. The strife between the Lombard king and the imperial exarch still continued, but the emperors, more and more occupied with the defence of the empire in the East, were forced to leave to the popes the defence of the Roman possessions.

Steadily the papal power grew, until it extended far down into southern Italy and embraced several dukedoms of the peninsula. In the eighth century the missionary labors of Boniface carried the influence of the Pope into the wilds of Germany and established the papal system and control over the new churches of the North, and laid the foundations of that great international federation of the West which was destined to take the place and continue the work of the old Roman empire.

The attacks of the Mahometans, and the protests of the emperors against the use of images, while

[1] Gregorovius, vol. ii., pp. 59–61.

threatening complete disruption, resulted only in establishing the military prestige and greater unity of the Franks, on the one hand, and, on the other, showed that the Roman Church had already developed as an independent power, in which was concentrated the spirit of the West.

Just at this time, as we have already seen, Liutprand, the greatest of the Lombard kings, attempted to take advantage of the confused state of affairs in order to forward the scheme of Lombard aggrandizement and to realize his dream of a united Italy under Lombard domination. Once more the Bishop of Rome prevented such a result. In the midst of his victories the king was induced to retreat and to give up Sutri to the Pope, the first instance of the bestowal of a city upon the church.[1] This was in 728. The struggle was now approaching its last stage, and one almost breathes a sigh at the voluntarily relinquished hopes and plans of the mighty Liutprand.

Renewed attacks upon Rome itself were averted once again by the reënactment of the religious drama of which the popes were so fond, and in which frequent rehearsals had given them such great proficiency. "The priestly magician," says Gregorovius, "led the disarmed enemy to the apostles' grave, and the pious monarch laid aside his regal mantle, his sword, his very crown, together with his ambitious hopes, at the grave of the dead."

[1] Gregorovius, vol. ii., pp. 236, 237 and note.

CHAPTER XII.

GREGORY III.—THE LOMBARDS AND THE FRANKS—BONIFACE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FRANKISH CHURCH—EARLY SYNODS—RELATIONS WITH ROME.

GREGORY II. died in 731, and the real danger from the Lombards became increasingly apparent under his successor, Gregory III. Already, as we have seen, Charles Martel, through his connection with Boniface, had come into relations with the Roman see, and these relations the Pope carefully fostered and encouraged, so that now, in his extremity, it was natural that he should turn his attention to the rising power of the Franks, who had always been the defenders of orthodoxy, the propagators of Christianity, and the allies of the church. Furthermore, the great victory on the plains of Poitiers had spread the glory of the might of Charles Martel, and had shown the Pope what a mighty weapon of defence lay just within his reach. Charles, however, was still busy with the Arabs and with putting down the revolts which their invasions had excited; nor did he wish, even if it were possible, to

break with Liutprand, who had aided him against the Mahometans, had declared himself the adopted father of the young Frankish prince, and had received into his court Charles's second son, Pippin, in acknowledgment of the alliance. Three times in 739 and 740 Gregory made the most frantic appeals for help: "Do not despise my prayer, nor shut your ears to my pleading, and then the chief of the apostles will not shut the kingdom of heaven against you. I adjure you by the living and true God, and the most holy keys of the sepulchre of the blessed Peter, which we have sent to you, that you do not prefer the friendship of the kings of the Lombards to the love of the chief of the apostles, but that quickly and without delay we may receive your aid, after God, for our defence; that among all nations your faith and good name may be declared, that we also may say with the prophet, 'The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; and the name of the God of Jacob defend thee'" (Ps. xx. 1).[1] The letter, so the chronicler records, was "sent by the decree of the Roman princes, for that the Roman people wished to leave the rule of the emperor and to commend themselves to his aid and unexcelled clemency."[2] But there is no trace of this last idea in any of the extant letters.

What the result might have been cannot now be known, for that same year (741) died Charles Martel, Pope Gregory III., and the Emperor Leo III., while Liutprand died in 744.

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 17, 18, Ep. 2.
[2] "Ann. Met.," an. 741; "M. G. SS.," vol. i., p. 326.

The imperial policy was continued by Leo's son, Constantine V., who summoned, in 754, what he called the Seventh General Council at Constantinople, at which severe decrees were passed against images and image-worship.

The Merovingian king, Theodoric IV., died in 737, and no successor had been appointed, so that for the last four years of his life Charles had governed in his own name. By the consent of his chief men, just before his death, he divided his dominion between his two sons. To Karlmann, his eldest son, he gave Austrasia, Thuringia, and Swabia (or Alemannia), and to his younger son, Pippin, he gave Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence. He is said to have given parts out of both these divisions to a third son, Grifo, a half-brother to Karlmann and Pippin, but the two older brothers refused to acknowledge his claims and united their forces against any and all attacks. This union enabled them to avoid the dangers which the division of the kingdom by Charles Martel had threatened. They were, however, forced to revive the fiction of a king, and to place a Merovingian on the throne, who played the part of a mere figurehead, under the name of Childeric III., while they kept all the real power in their own hands.

Boniface and the church exercised a stronger influence over the two brothers than had been possible in the case of their resolute and warlike father. At the very beginning of his accession to power, Karlmann summoned Boniface and requested him to assemble a synod for the reform of the condition of the Christian religion and the regulation of ecclesias-

tical affairs. The synod met in April, 742, and was the first, Boniface wrote to Pope Zacharias, that had been held in that part of the Frankish kingdom for sixty or seventy years.[1] Indeed, they had been growing less frequent in the rest of the Frankish church. Fifty-four had been held in Gaul in the sixth century, twenty in the seventh, and only seven in the first part of the eighth. The place of meeting of this synod is unknown, but Waitz speaks of it as the first to be held on German soil, and it is described in the collections as the first German synod. Karlmann himself summoned it, and apparently directed its actions.[2] Boniface and six other bishops, —of Würzburg in Franconia, of Buraburg in Hesse, of Utrecht in Friesia, of Eichstädt in Bavaria, and of Cologne and Strasburg in Austrasia,—with their presbyters, were present, together with the secular nobles. The acts of the synod are of great interest and importance. Bishops were established in the cities, under Boniface as archbishop and legate (*missus*) of St. Peter. Annual synods were ordered to be held. Church property was to be restored, and discipline administered to presbyters, deacons, and all clerics. The clergy were forbidden to fight, to bear arms, or to be present in the army except for divine service. Each presbyter was to be subject to

[1] Jaffé, vol. iii., Bonif. Ep. 42;

[2] "I, Karlmann, leader and chief [*dux et princeps*] of the Franks, . . . with the counsel of the servants of God and of my nobles, have summoned the bishops who are in my kingdom, with the presbyters, to a council and a synod, in the fear of Christ, that they might give me counsel in what way the law of God and the ecclesiastical religion may be revived." (Boretius, vol. i., p. 24; "Karlmanni Principis Capitulare.")

the bishop of the diocese, and in Lent of each year was to furnish and show to the bishop the proof and order (*rationem et ordinem*) of his ministry. The bishop was to take care to banish all pagan practices from his diocese. The rule of St. Benedict was to be observed in all monasteries and convents. False presbyters and clergy of evil life were to be deposed, and all church property taken by fraud was to be restored. A second council was held the next year, in March, at Liptinæ, or Lestinnes, now Estinnes, in Belgium, at which the decrees of the first synod were confirmed and their observance promised by clergy and laity of every rank. Evil living among the clergy, monks, and nuns was condemned again with great severity, and incestuous marriages forbidden in accordance with the canons. A fine of fifteen shillings was to be levied for any revival of pagan customs. But by far the most important action at this synod was that taken regarding church property. It had been found impossible to enforce the edict of the first council calling for the absolute surrender of confiscated church property. Karlmann, therefore, on account of the continued warfare and the necessary support of a large army, proposed to retain for a while longer the church lands which had been granted out in benefice. It was agreed, however, that each estate should pay to the church or monastery thus deprived of its lands, and that when the holder of the property died it should revert to the church unless it became necessary to make a new grant. If, on the other hand, the church should be rendered thereby poor and in absolute want, the

entire possession should be restored to it. Pope Zacharias, writing to Boniface, thanks God that he was able to get as much as this. The church's ownership was acknowledged, and a yearly remittance from each individual holding would be a source of income and a continual acknowledgment of ecclesiastical right and title. Following this council, Boniface, as archbishop and legate of the Pope, consecrated three new bishops, in Rouen, Rheims, and Sens. The latter was vacant, but the other two were held nominally by men of the very class the recent councils and the reform movement of Boniface had tried to eradicate; for the Bishop of Rouen was a soldier, and the Bishop of Rheims a usurper, attempting to hold Rheims together with the bishopric of Treves. The latter made a stubborn resistance which lasted for ten years, and was brought to a conclusion only in consequence of the death of the bishop, who was killed by a wild boar while hunting. Ecclesiastical reform found much opposition in both state and church.

Pippin held his council in his own territory at Soissons, in March, 744, the year following the synods held by his brother. Twenty-three bishops were present. The decrees were drawn up as capitularies of Prince Pippin "with the consent of the bishops, priests, and servants of God, and with counsel of the counts and chiefs of the Franks." The creed of the Council of Nicæa was affirmed. Synods were ordered to be held each year. Condemnation was pronounced upon a heretic, Adelbert by name, who had been drawing the people away from the established

worship, forbidding pilgrimages to Rome, and receiving for himself the honor and veneration due to St. Peter and his successors. Boniface regarded him as the dangerous founder of a new sect, but Neander sees in him an early Protestant.[1]

Having thus established its orthodoxy, affirmatively and negatively, the synod proceeded to decree the establishment of "legitimate" bishops in the chief cities, under two archbishops, one at Sens and the other at Rheims. Presbyters were to obey and support their bishops, who were to see that the people did not lapse into paganism nor indulge in heathen practices. Even the morals of the laity were made the subject of legislation, evil living and perjury were expressly prohibited, and the support of the church was commanded. Finally it was ordered that any one transgressing the decrees of the synod should be tried by the prince, the bishops, and the counts, and fined according to his rank.

These synods were held from time to time, with the active coöperation of Boniface, for the whole Frankish kingdom, and had a very marked influence on the organization of the church and its relations to the state. They dealt far more largely with the practical matters of order and discipline than with theological questions and controversies, were attended by both lay and clerical nobles, were summoned and presided over by the king or ruler, and legislated on matters of general morals as well as on secular affairs. Thus they served to maintain a close and real intimacy between church and state, and to make more

[1] Neander, vol. iii., pp. 56–60.

effective the influence of religious ideals upon the ruler and his court and nobles.

Soon after the holding of these early synods reviving and establishing the order and discipline of the church, Boniface established himself at Mainz as archbishop, with general supervision over the whole of Germany east of the Rhine. Thus gradually was built up and established the ecclesiastical hierarchy of priests, bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans, which, by the labors of Boniface, was brought into closer relations of dependence upon Rome. In a famous letter to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury from 741 to 759, urging upon him the holding of a synod in England as they had just done in Germany, Boniface wrote: "Moreover, we have decreed in our synod, and have professed our desire, to preserve the Catholic faith and unity with and obedience to the Roman Church, to be subject to St. Peter and his vicar, to assemble a synod every year, to seek the pall for our metropolitans from that see, and to follow strictly all the requirements of St. Peter."[1]

Naturally the authority which Boniface wielded and the influence he exerted as archbishop and metropolitan differed somewhat from the ordinary archiepiscopal powers, but it is misleading to give him the title of Primate of all Germany, or to conclude that he exercised archiepiscopal functions in all parts of Germany. Indeed, he had desired, on the death of the Bishop of Cologne in 744, that the bishopric should be raised to an archbishopric and conferred upon himself, in order that he might have

[1] Jaffé, vol. iii., Bonif. Ep. 63.

the personal superintendence of his old mission among the people of Friesland. Objection was made, however, by some of his opponents, and Gewillieb, Bishop of Mainz, having been deposed at a synod in 745 for fighting and killing his father's slayer in battle, Mainz, as we have seen, was made an archbishopric and conferred upon Boniface. It was, therefore, rather his special commission as legate or vicar of the Pope that extended his powers into all parts of the kingdom, and enabled him to do his great work of spreading Christianity, and of unifying, organizing, and establishing the Frankish church, and of laying the foundations and starting the building of that great superstructure, the church of Germany.

CHAPTER XIII.

KARLMANN AND PIPPIN, THE SONS OF CHARLES MARTEL—KING CHILDERIC III.—RETIREMENT TO A MONASTERY OF KARLMANN, CHILDERIC, AND RACHIS, KING OF THE LOMBARDS—CORONATION OF PIPPIN AS KING OF THE FRANKS.

THE natural tendency of this spreading of Christianity and of this development and unifying of organization would be the unification of the state; but for the accomplishment of this end a stronger power than that of Boniface and a longer period than that covered by his life would be required.

The work of Boniface undoubtedly assisted greatly, but it followed rather than preceded the Frankish arms. Indeed, events at this very time were showing how weak and easily thrown off were the ties which bound together the various parts of the Frankish kingdom. All had been at peace in 740; but on the death of Charles Martel, in 741, rebellions sprang up among the Saxons and the Alemannians, while Hunold, duke of the Aquitanians, and Ottilo, duke of the Bavarians, declared their independence. It was no longer a war

of Christians against pagans, but an attempt to break up the unity of the Frankish kingdom and to limit the conquests of the Frankish leaders. Christians were on one side as well as on the other. Indeed, on one occasion a certain priest named Sergius, the papal legate in Bavaria, met the Frankish army, and in the name of St. Peter and the apostolic lord forbade the war, and called upon the Franks to withdraw from Bavaria. Pippin, however, declared that neither St. Peter nor the apostolic lord had sent Sergius on that mission. On the following day, after a great victory, the priest, together with one of the bishops, was captured and brought to Pippin, who reminded him of his false commission from the Pope, and declared that now he had proved that it was false, because if St. Peter had felt that the cause of the Franks was not just, he would not have aided them in gaining the victory. "Be assured now, however," he concluded, "that by the intercession of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and by the judgment of God, to which we do not hesitate to submit, Bavaria and the Bavarians belong to the empire of the Franks."[1]

In the midst of the success in Bavaria came the news that Hunold had crossed the Loire, taken Chartres, and burned it together with its cathedral church. Pippin immediately hastened to the defence of Neustria, and Karlmann proceeded against the Saxons, who had been foremost in aid to the Bavarians. War raged in all directions during the succeeding years, marked by treachery and deceit on all

[1] "Ann. Met.," an. 743; "M. G. SS.," vol. i., p. 328.

sides. In 744 Hunold, having deceived his brother by false oaths, tore out his eyes and threw him into prison. A few days afterwards he laid aside his ducal crown, took the vows of a monk, and entered a monastery, but whether from remorse or because in the same year he had been forced to yield to the Franks and take the oath of fealty to Pippin and Karlmann, the chroniclers do not tell us. He left the rule to his son Waifar. Karlmann, tired of the treachery and continual uprisings of the Alemannians, entered their territory and summoned their chiefs to a conference at Cannstatt, where they were all seized and put to death. This was in 746; in the following year he also resigned his power into the hands of his brother Pippin, and went to Rome. He built a monastery on Mount Soracte, but afterwards retired to Monte Cassino, where he died in 754. There has always been a mystery surrounding his retirement, and the chroniclers do little to explain it. One says that he gave up the temporal kingdom for the sake of the heavenly.[1] Einhart says that he had been meditating the act for a long time;[2] while we are told rather suspiciously, in another place, that, urged by divine love and desire for the heavenly country, he, of his own free will (*sponte*), resigned his power and commended his sons to his brother Pippin.[3] "The spontaneous character of his abdication may be true in his own case, but few thinking people will believe

[1] "Ann. Laur. Min.," an. 747; "M. G. SS.," vol. i., p. 115.
[2] "Ann. Einhardi," an. 745 (error for 746); "M. G. SS.," vol. i., p. 135.
[3] "Chron. Moiss.," an. 741–752; "M. G. SS.," vol. i., p. 292.

that it was unaccompanied by pressure in the case of his sons, who, though he commended them to Pippin, lost their inheritance and practically vanished out of existence." [1]

There was no more fighting that year. Pippin occupied himself in establishing his power over the whole realm, sending his nephews to a monastery to follow their father's example. He treated his younger brother Grifo with more consideration, released him from the prison where he had been confined since the death of his father, and gave into his charge several counties and a large part of the royal domain. But Grifo refused to be reconciled, put himself at the head of a party of rebellious chiefs, and raised a revolt among the Saxons. Pippin pursued him, and by the aid of the Friesians and the Slavs, enemies of the Saxons, put down the revolt, exacted a tribute, and forced many of them to be baptized. This was a frequent method of spreading Christianity, and, unfortunately, in the minds of these northern and still pagan peoples the sacrament of baptism seemed to them the symbol of their entrance into the kingdom of the Franks rather than into the kingdom of heaven, the sign of their subjection to the Carolingian rather than to Christ, so that when renouncing their subjection to the Franks in their frequent revolts they too often threw off at the same time their Christian obligations, burned their churches, killed or put to flight their clergy, and relapsed into paganism.

Driven from the Saxons, Grifo fled to Bavaria, where, aided by Landfrid, duke of the Alemannians,

[1] Mombert, "Charles the Great," p. 32.

he dispossessed his nephew Tassilo, the son and heir of the former duke, Ottilo, and got himself proclaimed duke of the Bavarians. Again the army of Pippin entered Bavaria and forced submission. Tassilo was reinstated, and Grifo, again restored to favor, was given the duchy of Maine, with twelve counties in Neustria. He soon left his duchy, however, and joined Waifar, the duke of the Aquitanians and the avowed enemy of the Franks. There Pippin was content to leave him for a time.[1]

More important affairs were to be settled. Having put down all open rebellion, united the kingdom under a single rule, and, by the aid of Boniface, established order in the church, settled its relations with the secular power, put its property and possessions on a satisfactory basis, reorganized its government on a system of bishops and metropolitans, and confirmed its union with the Church of Rome, he sought to reap the reward and to enjoy the honor of his labors, and to secure their benefits to his descendants. For over a century the position of the Merovingian kings had been that of a merely nominal headship. While their power had been growing less and less, that of the mayors of the palace had been as steadily increasing. Charles Martel, by his vigorous administration and brilliant victories, had brought it to such a height that when, in 737, the king, Theodoric IV., died, no attempt was made to place another on the throne. Although the sons of Charles

[1] Two years afterwards, trying to make his way to the Lombard king, he was attacked by Theodwin, a Frankish count, who had been stationed to guard the passes of the Alps, and both were slain. ("Ann. Met.," an. 751.)

had been forced by the jealousy of some of the leading nobles to set up Childeric III., Pippin had now raised the power of the mayors of the palace to a supreme height, and the position of the king was pitiable. "Nothing was left for the king," says Einhard in his life of Charles the Great, "except to sit on his throne, content with the mere name of king, his flowing hair, long, waving beard; and to present the merest show of power, to listen to the ambassadors from different countries, and to give them at their departure the replies which he had been taught or even ordered to say, as if they were the expression of his own will; while, in reality, besides the useless name of king, and the precarious support which the mayor of the palace furnished as he thought fit, he possessed nothing else of his own, except a single estate, and that yielding a very small revenue, having a house and a small number of servants, who obeyed his orders and ministered to his necessities. Wherever he went he was carried in a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen, driven by a ploughman in country fashion; thus he used to go to the palace, and thus to the assembly of his people at its annual meeting for promoting the welfare of the kingdom, and thus he went home again. The administration of the kingdom and the transaction and disposition of all business connected with foreign or domestic affairs devolved upon the mayor of the palace."[1] This was no new arrangement. One of the chroniclers, in the year 692, describes a similar scene under Pippin of Heristal, the father of Charles Martel:

[1] Einhard, "Vita Karoli," c. 1.

"Each year, on the calends of March, a general council of all the Franks was held according to the custom of the ancients. At this council, out of reverence for the name of King, and on account of his own humility and clemency, Pippin ordered the king whom he had set up to preside until the offerings were received from all the nobles of the Franks, the speeches made in behalf of the peace and defence of the churches of God and of the orphans and widows, a firm decree made against rape and arson, the command given to the army that on whatever day they received notice to march they should be ready to go wherever he appointed, after which he sent the king to a public estate, to be kept with honor and respect."[1] At the time of which we speak, however, even this had passed away, and the name as well as the person of the king seemed well-nigh forgotten. Only occasionally does the year of his reign serve to fix a date; his presence in the assemblies is not noted, nor does his authority appear in the capitularies. In all the communications between the popes and the Franks, not a single letter is addressed to the king, but to the viceroy, or *subregulus*, as the mayor of the palace was called. Charles Martel and his sons had already spoken of the kingdom as theirs (*meum regnum, nostrum regnum*) in their laws and official documents.

Such a condition of affairs could not long endure. The one who had the power should have the name of king. But how could the change be effected? The force of custom and a long line of succession in

[1] "Ann. Met.," an. 692; "M. G. SS.," vol. i., p. 320.

the same family since the times of Clovis, a period of nearly three hundred years, exercised an influence not easily dispelled. But a power had arisen, and was already making itself felt in the Frankish kingdom, which could counteract that influence, and by its authority sanction that which ancient custom and inheritance seemed to forbid. That was the Christian church, the authority of whose religious sanction might furnish just what was needed.

The act of Pippin in procuring his coronation was not a usurpation nor a revolution; these had already taken place. Pippin's act was one of political necessity, which had been so well and so long prepared that it took place almost without being perceived. Nor were the proper ceremonies and legal details wanting. With the advice and consent of all the Franks, Burchard, Bishop of Würzburg, a friend and pupil of Boniface, and Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis, one of the principal ecclesiastics of Gaul, were sent to the Pope, Zacharias. At Rome they met another pupil and friend of Boniface, who had been despatched with secret and confidential messages for the Pope. These explained to him the insignificant position of the Merovingian king, who, though of royal lineage, had only the name of king, without any of the royal powers and prerogatives, except the signing of grants and charters. They asked if this were well or not. The Pope replied, in virtue of his apostolic authority, that it seemed to him to be better and more fitting that he should be king and receive the royal title who had the power in the kingdom rather than he who falsely was called king. Therefore he sent back word

to the king and people of the Franks that Pippin, who was exercising the royal power, should be called king and placed upon the throne. This was the authorization which had been desired. Accordingly, in the next year, 751, by the election of the people, having received the submission of the chiefs in accordance with the ancient custom of the Franks, Pippin was raised to the throne in the city of Soissons, and that he might be rendered more worthy of this honor, he, with his queen, Bertrada, received the holy anointing; but Childeric, who was falsely called king, had his head shaven and was sent to a monastery. The long, flowing locks, symbol of royal dignity, were cut away, and the tonsure, sign of the renunciation of worldly ambitions, took their place.[1]

Thus took place that act of most solemn and momentous significance to western Europe and to the Christian church, as well as to the Frankish kingdom and to the Roman Papacy. There is no need of trying to justify the act; its historical explanation lies in the fact that it took place orderly and peaceably, as an evident political necessity. Its manifest advantage to all persons concerned except the poor last remnant of the royal line, and, above all, the absolute necessity, which the Pope had already felt and recognized, of having some strong arm near at hand if Rome was to be saved to the Papacy and the Papacy to the Western Church, are plainly seen.

It was something more than a change of dynasty

[1] "Ann. Einhardi," an. 749, 750; "Ann. Laur.," an. 749, 750; "Ann. Lauriss. Min.," an. 750; "Fredegar. Cont.," c. 117; "Ann. Fuld.," an. 751, 752.

or a political revolution, or even usurpation. It effected a complete change in the very conception of the kingship, opened a new epoch in the relations between the ecclesiastical and the secular power, and began a marked epoch in the history of the church itself.

The Pope had waited for the imperial confirmation of the ruler of the East before entering upon his duties; he now found himself consecrating the new ruler of the West, that he might authoritatively perform his duties. The Pope had been seeking the assistance of this new power which had arisen in the West; he now found it seeking him. The kings of the Franks had ruled before by right of royal birth and national custom and support; they were now kings by the grace of God, expressed by the part which the bishops of the church took in the election, by the anointing in the name of the head of the church at Rome. By this act the king was invested with a divine significance, he was made a part of the ecclesiastical order, and the union of the Frankish monarch with the ecclesiastical head of the Western Church was complete.

The Pope had now received the submission and resignation of two kings; for Rachis, Liutprand's successor as king of the Lombards, having once more renewed the contest and besieged Perugia, had met the Pope, and had come within the magic circle of that influence so majestic and awe-filling that it seemed almost divine, and he had not only given up the contest and restored the places already taken, but had laid his crown at the feet of the successor of the

Prince of the Apostles, and had retired humbly and devoutly to the monastery of Monte Cassino.

And now the Pope had been asked to exercise again that mighty spiritual authority which he held as head of the Church of Rome and as the chief religious authority of his time, whose source no man questioned and whose limit no man knew, to sanction the overthrow of a royal house which had held its sway for nearly three centuries, and to establish another line by a new ceremony and with a new meaning. "Already here in the eighth century is the whole future of the middle ages pictured forth in miniature."[1] It is to be noted that it was not by his own seeking that there came to the Pope that mighty power of deposing and setting up kings. It was given, yes, almost forced upon him, and the foundations laid for that lofty height on which Innocent III. stood, with kings and kingdoms and the empire at his feet, when it was said to him:

> "Not God thou art, nor man, neither and yet between,
> Whom God himself has made his partner and ally,
> Sharing with thee the universal sway,
> Desiring not alone to govern all,
> But giving earth to thee, reserving heaven to himself."[2]

The anointing was not an absolutely new ceremony in the West. It had been used for the first time in the later monarchy of the Visigoths, after the conversion of Recarred, when the church became quite

[1] Hegel, vol. i., p. 208.

[2] Translated from a poem of the thirteenth century, written by Geoffrey Vinsauf. Quoted by Lea, "Studies in Church History," p. 387.

powerful in Spain.[1] It had been introduced into England also, though the exact date is uncertain. This was its first appearance, however, among the Franks. Clovis had been baptized, it is true, by Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, and his people had followed his example; but there does not appear to have been any thought of an ecclesiastical anointing of Clovis as king; that is the addition of later legends. Indeed, Clovis, who with difficulty, and only after having been a king for over ten years, was brought to baptism and the acceptance of the Christian faith, and who was already possessed of royal power, tracing his right to his birth in a royal family descending from the gods, would have been the last to assent to it; nor is there any evidence that his Merovingian successors were made kings in any other way than by the good old German custom of the shouts of the people, the clash of arms, and the elevation on the shield. As has been pointed out,[2] the words on which Lehuerou relied to prove a consecration of Clovis are unquestionably the forgery of a later time.[3] Furthermore, Lehuerou himself admits, on the very next page, that it is in the official documents of the early Carolingians that one meets for the first time the grand formula, "king by the grace of God." In truth, this act of raising Pippin to the Frankish throne set aside the claims of a pagan right divine, based on a lineage derived from the gods, and substituted for it a Christian right divine, based on the authority of

[1] Probably also in the case of Wamba, the Visigothic king, in 672. (Alzog, vol. ii., p. 127, note 3.)

[2] Waitz, vol. iii., p. 64, note 2.

[3] Lehuerou, pp. 328, 329.

the church and on the consecration at her hands. Thus the church by her authority released the Franks from their oath of allegiance to the royal family of their ancient kings, and conferred upon Pippin that which was lacking in the hereditary right of birth in the royal family. This consideration ought to go far towards settling that vexed question on which so many volumes have been written,—whether the Pope made Pippin king,—and it shows just what was effected by papal authority.

Thus Pippin was crowned king, and the allegiance of the Franks, by the authority of the Pope, was transferred to him. Their chief was well chosen. Pippin was brave, resolute, and almost always victorious. This is well illustrated by a story that on one occasion a furious encounter was taking place between a bull and a lion. Pippin sprang into the arena, cut off the heads of both with his massive sword, and, turning to his courtiers, said, "Am I not worthy of being your king?" And yet, as has been truly said, between the towering proportions of his father and of his son, the one the victor of Tours, and the other the first Emperor of the West, the historic stature of Pippin himself is dwarfed beneath its due proportions. To his power as chief was added the authority of king. The time was well chosen. The kingdom, as it were, had been founded anew. All opposition of the princes had been put down. Neustria and Austrasia were firmly united, as is shown by the fact that the same ecclesiastical synods were held for both districts in common. The weapons of war were at rest. Peace ruled at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XIV.

RELATIONS OF THE PAPACY WITH THE LOMBARDS AND WITH THE EMPEROR, FROM THE TIME OF GREGORY II. TO THE DEATH OF ZACHARIAS.

IT has been shown already that Gregory II. had opposed any break with the emperor, knowing full well that such a step would leave the Papacy helpless before the power and ambitions of the Lombard king.[1] Under Gregory III., however, the opposition engendered by the iconoclastic zeal of the emperor became more apparent. Soon after his consecration in 731, he held a synod of the clergy, nobles, and people of Rome, at which a sentence of excommunication was decreed against the iconoclasts, thus renewing the controversy "which," as Gregorovius says, "had now become little else than the symbol of division between the church and the absolutism of the state."[2] The presence of the lay element at this synod is significant, and it is also to be noted that the enumeration of the attendants includes the three classes which made up Rome.[3]

[1] See above, p. 89. [2] Gregorovius, vol. ii., p. 242.
[3] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 416, c. 3.

It was recognized beyond a doubt that if the imperial power was too weak to protect the Pope against the Lombards, it was too weak to keep him in a strict dependence, and he became more and more independent and better able to take advantage of the position which, as head of the Roman Church, he had come to hold in all Italy. This power, as we have seen, was greatly advanced by Gregory I., and was established on the deep and firm foundation of the actual position of the Pope as defender of the people against temporal injustice and wrong, as well as acknowledged head of the Western Church.[1] But it was the invasion of the Lombards and the struggles against them, in which the popes were the most effective leaders, as well as the weakness of the emperor, becoming ever more and more apparent, that, humanly speaking, established the papal power in the eighth century. So that it has been well said: "The independence of the popes was struck like a spark between the rival temporal powers that divided Italy."[2]

The iconoclastic controversy helped on the movement of separation. In 733 the emperor despatched a fleet to punish the Pope for the threatening acts of his council; but the fleet having been shipwrecked in the Adriatic, the emperor took his revenge by transferring the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Sicily, of Calabria, and of Illyricum from the Bishop of Rome to the Patriarch of Constantinople. This act had a decisive influence on the history of southern Italy throughout the middle ages, and made the ecclesias-

[1] See above, pp. 97–99. [2] Bury, vol. ii., p. 156.

tical division between old Rome and New Rome conform to the boundary between the Latin and Greek nationalities, thus tending to make more pronounced the real difference between the Latin and Greek churches. Papal authority in the imperial possessions was limited to Rome, Ravenna, and Venice. This separation of southern Italy was rendered easier by the fact that Greek colonization had already made that part of Italy a Greek land.

At about this same time, however, Gregory came into the possession of Gallese, a fortified place in Roman Tuscany, the acquisition being the result, it is said, of a secret treaty with the Duke of Spoleto. A little later, in 739, the dukes of Spoleto and of Benevento obtained the support of Gregory in their opposition to Liutprand by promising to aid the papal cause. Thus the Pope was drawn into entangling alliances with these Lombard dukes, and interfered with the internal affairs of the Lombard kingdom, though in so doing he showed himself the protector and defender of an independent Roman state. Furthermore, although the forms of the imperial control were allowed to remain, the popes were gradually, but surely, freeing Italy from dependence upon Constantinople, at the same time resisting the encroachments of the Lombards, and giving to the Italian spirit of nationality a centre of support and a source of enthusiasm. The temporal power of the Papacy made it possible for it to use its two greatest powers, its great wealth and the religious awe which it inspired, for the furtherance of the national movement in Italy, although this was hardly the purpose for which the Papacy had been

established, and to which, at first, it had been devoted. More and more, as it took a political position, it became subject to political considerations and influences, and its higher mission was lost or subordinated to its new obligations and ambitions.

The alliance of the Pope with the Southern dukes was renewed. Liutprand attacked Spoleto, but its duke fled to Rome, and the Lombard king found himself face to face with the Roman army under the Duke of Rome, the imperial officer of the Roman duchy. The Duke of Spoleto was enabled to return to his dominions, but Liutprand seized and occupied the four cities of Amelia, Orte, Bomarzo, and Blera. The Duke of Spoleto, having obtained his object, suffered his zeal in support of the Papacy to flag, and Gregory, recognizing the inadequacy of either Italian or imperial alliances in his struggle with the Lombards, appealed to Charles Martel.[1] In a second letter the Pope sought to justify the aid given to the dukes of Spoleto and of Benevento in their revolt against Liutprand, but he said nothing about the taking of the four cities in 739. Charles made no definite answer, as we have seen,[2] but confined himself to general expressions of respect and interest; the persons he sent into Italy probably told him that the Pope had brought upon himself the difficulties of which he complained, by interfering unnecessarily in the affairs of the Lombard king.[3]

Gregory III. died soon after, and within four days

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 14–18, Ep. 1, 2, A.D. 739, 740.
[2] See above, p. 102.
[3] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 425, note 34.

of his death Zacharias succeeded to the Papacy, fully prepared and well able to carry on the policy of resistance to the Lombards. The right of imperial confirmation of the Pope had been transferred to the exarch in 685, or perhaps as early as 642,[1] thus avoiding long delays, though greatly increasing the influence of the exarch. There is no record, however, that Zacharias did more than announce his election and consecration to the emperor.

It is a significant fact that he was the last of an almost unbroken series of Greeks and Syrians in the papal line for nearly a century. During his pontificate he gave evidence of great courage and self-reliance, as well as of marked diplomacy and skill. The papal biographer describes him as a very mild and genial man, slow to anger and quick to pity, never rendering evil for evil, nor taking even deserved revenge, but pious and merciful, doing good to his evil persecutors, and promoting them to honor.[2] Liutprand and his nobles being present on one occasion when the Pope was consecrating a bishop, it is reported that "many of the Lombards were moved to tears by the very manner of his saying prayers."[3]

At the time of his accession the death of Charles Martel had left the Frankish government in a confused condition, without a king,[4] and with three brothers, Karlmann, Pippin, and Grifo, at variance

[1] Hodgkin, vol. vi., p. 530, note 3.
[2] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 426, c. 1.
[3] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 428, c. 10.
[4] The king had died four years before, and Charles had not thought it worth while to set up another. See above, p. 103.

with one another. Consequently, until affairs were settled there, no alliance could be formed.

The Pope therefore made a treaty with Liutprand, in which the Duke of Spoleto was left to his fate, the king promising to restore to the Pope the four cities, Amelia, Orte, Bomarzo, and Blera, which he had seized two years before from the emperor. This was the third donation to the Pope from the Lombard conquests. He also bestowed upon the Pope the Sabine district, and restored several ecclesiastical estates. In conclusion he made a treaty of peace with the duchy of Rome to last for twenty years. Being now at the height of his power, he proceeded to attack Ravenna, which he had captured once before, but which the Venetians had recovered. The exarch now appealed to the Pope, who hastened to the court of Liutprand, after all messages and embassies had proved fruitless. Here, for the third time, the eloquence of a pope, and the awe which he was able to inspire, accomplished what arms had failed to do, and Liutprand withdrew his forces and resigned his conquests. Even the third part, which he had retained as a pledge, he afterwards handed over to the "republic."[1]

The death of Liutprand, who had shown himself a noble, strong, and brave king, except in the presence of the Pope, removed an ever-threatening danger, and left Zacharias master of the situation. Friendly relations with the empire were restored, and the imperial power in Italy was acknowledged in the persons of the exarch in Ravenna and of the duke in Rome.

[1] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 431, c. 15.

At the request of the Pope, the emperor bestowed upon the church the cities Mirfa and Norma in Latium, as a sort of compensation for the loss incurred in Sicily and Calabria.[1] This he might well do, as he owed to the Pope the preservation from the Lombards of all that the empire held in Italy.

It was before this same pope that two great rulers —Karlmann of the Franks in 747, and Rachis, formerly Duke of Friuli, and successor to Liutprand as King of the Lombards, in 749—renounced their high positions and embraced the monastic life. The resignation of Rachis, though doubtless flattering to the church and to papal diplomacy, was not advantageous to the papal interests, for his brother Aistulf, who succeeded him as King of the Lombards, was a much fiercer and more valiant warrior, and, despite his many promises, was firmly determined to carry out the policy of opposing Rome and of establishing the Lombard rule over all Italy. Indeed, it has been suggested that it was probably the dissatisfaction with the weak and yielding policy which Rachis had begun to exhibit that influenced, if it did not bring about, his decision to retire to a monastery. The aggressive policy of Aistulf, however, drove the Pope to look with favor upon a renewal of the relations with the Franks, which had ceased since the death of Charles Martel; and the embassy which Pippin sent on the subject of the Frankish kingship returned with a favorable response, and the consecration of Pippin as king by the bishops of the Frankish church, with the approbation and authorization

[1] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 433, c. 20.

of the Pope, was the result. Although some shreds of the formalities connecting Rome with the empire still remained, and the papal documents until 772 continued to bear the name and date of the emperor,[1] this act of consecration, and its consequences, together with the conquest of Ravenna by the Lombards and the downfall of the exarchate, presently to be noticed, practically ended all real connection between Italy and Constantinople.

NOTE.—In an old manuscript of Gregory of Tours has been found a note written on one of the pages by a monk of St. Denis, in the year 767. He records that Pippin and his sons, "by the providence of God, were consecrated with the sacred chrism as kings thirteen years before (754). For the said most flourishing, pious lord, King Pippin, by the authority and command (*imperium*) of the lord Pope Zacharias of sacred memory, and by the anointing of the holy chrism by the hands of the blessed priests of the Gauls, and by the election of all the Franks three years before (751), had been exalted to the throne of the kingdom. Afterwards by the hands of the Pontiff Stephen, in the Church of the Blessed Martyrs (St. Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius), he was anointed and blessed as King and Patrician, together with his sons Charles and Karlmann. Blessing was also pronounced upon his wife, Bertrada, and the Frankish princes, and all were constrained by threats of interdict and excommunication never to presume to elect a king from another race." ("Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 458, note 31.)

[1] Jaffé, "Regesta Pontif. Rom.," vol. i., pp. 289, 290, No. 2395.

CHAPTER XV.

RELATIONS OF THE PAPACY WITH THE LOMBARDS AND WITH THE FRANKS—OVERTHROW OF THE EXARCHATE BY THE LOMBARDS—THE POPE CROSSES THE ALPS—THE DONATION OF PIPPIN—THE PAPAL CONSECRATION OF PIPPIN AND HIS SONS AS KINGS OF THE FRANKS AND PATRICIANS OF THE ROMANS.

ACHARIAS died before he could claim his reward for the consecration of Pippin, perhaps even before the consecration.[1] Stephen II. having died immediately after his election, the next pope, Stephen III., sometimes called Stephen II., soon found himself in the greatest need. Already, in 751, Aistulf had conquered Ravenna and brought the rule of the exarchs to an end.[2] For a moment, however, even he yielded to the persuasions of Stephen, and renewed the treaty of peace made by Liutprand; but, repenting of

[1] According to Sickel, Mühlbacher, and others, Pippin was raised to the throne in November, 751 (Boehmer, vol. i., p. 30). Some put it as late as 752 (Gregorovius, vol. ii., p. 267, note 2). Zacharias died March 14, 752 ("Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 435, c. 29).

[2] "Eutychius (727–752) is the last exarch of whom we have any mention." (Hodgkin, vol. vi., p. 537.)

his weakness, he demanded a heavy tribute, and prepared to put into effective operation his designs upon Rome. The papal ambassadors were not even received, and were sent back to their monasteries with orders not to see the Pope. The Pope heard with dismay of the advance of Aistulf and his breach of the treaty. He headed a solemn procession of clergy and people, barefooted, and with ashes sprinkled on their heads, and visited the shrines and holy places in the city, bearing the sacred image of Christ called the Acheropsita.[1] Attached to the cross carried in the procession was the treaty of peace which Aistulf so perfidiously had broken. But religious processions were of no avail, and even the emperor could protect Rome no longer, for he had not been able to retain Ravenna. It was then that the step was taken for which the whole previous history had been preparing, and which was fraught with such far-reaching consequences. The exarchate had fallen, the emperor was powerless, and the Pope turned his back upon both, and placed himself and the church under the protection of the Franks. The new king was reminded of the obligations he had incurred so recently, and was called upon to assume the responsibilities of his position. The first letters, unfortunately, are lost, but from a later one we learn that Pippin sent to Rome

1 "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 443, c. 11.

"This is the first mention of this sacred picture. It is painted on wood, is dark, and is entirely Byzantine, representing the Saviour with a beard. It was used in processions in the middle ages, and on the vigil of the Assumption was washed in the Forum, as in former days the statue of Cybele in the Almo. The nocturnal procession, having degenerated into a bacchanal rout, was abolished by Pius V." (Gregorovius, vol. ii., p. 274, note 2.)

Drochtegang, Abbot of Jumièges, and another messenger, who assured the Pope of the king's good will.[1] Shortly afterwards, having learned that the Pope desired to enter the Frankish kingdom, Pippin and the whole assembly of the Franks despatched Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, and Duke Autchar to escort him. In the meanwhile an imperial order had been received in Rome commanding the Pope to demand in person from Aistulf the restoration of the exarchate. He accordingly began his journey in the middle of October, leaving the Lord's people (*dominica plebs*) to the care of the Lord and of St. Peter. Before this, on similar occasions, they had been left to the imperial officer, the Duke of Rome. Proceeding directly to Pavia, he remained there a month, but his attempts at negotiation with Aistulf proved fruitless. Owing to the mediation of his Frankish escorts, he was allowed to depart unmolested. Proceeding on his way, he was met by two more messengers of the king,—Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis,[2] and Duke Rothard,—sent to conduct him to the presence of the king.

It is a significant fact that Stephen was the first Roman bishop to cross the Alps. Tradition, indeed, tells of an earlier visit by Gregory III. to Charles Martel in 741, but it seems extremely improbable.[3]

During the summer the king had been engaged in a campaign against the Saxons, who, "according to

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 32, Ep. 4, A.D. 753.

[2] He had been one of the messengers sent to gain the papal consent to Pippin's coronation.

[3] Alzog accepts it on the authority of Johann von Müller (Alzog, vol. ii., p. 143, note 1).

their custom," as the chronicler says, had broken out again in rebellion, and had put to death Hildigar, Bishop of Cologne.[1] In this campaign he had been successful, having forced them to the tribute of three hundred horses annually, and to receive again the Christian missionaries. On his return he received the report of the death of Grifo, his half-brother. A little later came the news that Pope Stephen had crossed the Alps and was already in the kingdom. At this Pippin was greatly pleased, and sent his eldest son, then twelve years of age, to meet him and conduct him to the court. Thus the young Charles, later to be known as Charles the Great, met the Bishop of Rome. With great honor the Pope was escorted to Ponthion, where the king was spending the winter. The meeting took place on the 6th of January, the feast of the Epiphany. It was indeed a most momentous occasion, signifying as it did the alliance of the church of the old empire with the new kingdom of the West.

Elaborate details of the meeting are given by the papal biographer. Pippin rode out a distance of three miles, where he dismounted, and, with great humility, prostrate on the ground, with his wife and sons and nobles, received the Pope, and in the office of a groom walked beside him for some distance. Then with chants and hymns the whole procession made its way to the palace. There, seated in the chapel, the Pope, with tears in his eyes, be-

[1] Hildigar was the bishop who in controversy with Boniface had claimed the church of Utrecht, in Friesland, as dependent upon himself. See Neander, vol. iii., p. 71.

sought the king that by a treaty of peace he would settle the cause of the blessed Peter and of the republic of the Romans.[1] The Frankish chroniclers add that, "on the following day, the Pope, with his clergy, clad in haircloth and sprinkled with ashes, prostrate on the ground, besought the king, by the mercy of Almighty God, and by the merits of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, to free him and the Roman people from the hand of the Lombards and from the service of the haughty King Aistulf. Nor would he rise from the ground until the king, with his sons and the nobles, stretched forth the hand and raised him from the ground in token of their future aid and deliverance."[2]

It was at this time that Pippin promised to restore that which the Lombards had seized, and to free the church from their power, a promise which was ratified and confirmed by the national assembly or diet at which all the Franks were assembled according to regular custom.

The regular national assembly at which affairs of state were settled seems to have been held in March at Braisne, as appears from the Continuator of Fredigarius and the "Annals of Metz." The life of Stephen and that of Hadrian, given in the Pontifical Book, assign these acts to an assembly at Kiersey; but it appears from Labbé's "Councils" (lib. iv., p. 1650) that ecclesiastical matters regarding baptism and marriage were settled here.

At one or the other, however, the nobles gave

1 "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., pp. 447, 448, c. 25, 26.
2 "Chron. Moiss.," an. 741–754; "M. G. SS.," vol. i., p. 293.

their assent to the war with the Lombards, not without a good deal of persuasion, for there seems to have been a strong Lombard party among them. Already in 753 Stephen had addressed a special letter to them adjuring them to support Pippin in all that he might do for the welfare of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles.[1] It is to this state of affairs Einhard refers when he speaks of the expedition undertaken by Pippin at the supplication of Pope Stephen, "after great difficulties, for some of the chief men of the Franks with whom he was wont to consult were so opposed to his will that they openly declared they would leave the king and return home."[2]

At this assembly, probably, was drawn up the famous donation of Pippin, the acknowledged basis of the later grant by Charles the Great, and the main foundation of the temporal possessions of the Pope.[3]

The transactions are thus alluded to in the papal letters: "You [Pippin and his sons] have earnestly endeavored to establish the rights of the blessed Peter as far as you could, and by a deed of donation[4] your goodness has confirmed the restitution. . . . By your own will, by a deed of donation, you confirmed the restitution of the cities and places belonging to the blessed Peter and to the holy church of God and to the republic. . . . And what you have once promised to the blessed Peter, and by your donation confirmed by your own hand, hasten to render and

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 33, Ep. 5, A.D. 753.
[2] Einhard, "Vita," c. 6.
[3] Boehmer, vol. i., p. 33; Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 87–90; Gregorovius, vol. ii., pp. 278–287.
[4] *Per donationis paginam.*

to give up; for it is better not to promise than to promise and not to perform."[1] "Quickly and without delay render to the blessed Peter the cities and places and all the hostages and captives and all things contained in the donation which you have promised to the blessed Peter by your donation."[2] "For know that the Prince of the Apostles holds firmly that donation of yours in your own handwriting.[3] And it is necessary that you carry out that which you yourself have written,[4] lest when the just Judge shall come in fire to judge the living and the dead and the world, that Prince of the Apostles showing that very autograph as having no validity, you are forced to employ very vacillating excuses with him."[5]

However this might be, the deed, which, we can hardly doubt, really existed, is lost, and it would be difficult to carry out this threat, even if there were no other obstacles in the way. Nor have we any definite idea as to its contents; indeed, it was probably as indefinite and general in its terms as the foregoing quotations would imply. But already, as the Pope afterwards reminds the two sons of Pippin, the promise had been made to the blessed Peter, his vicar, and his successors, "that you would be friends to our friends and enemies to our enemies, as also we have determined to remain firm in the same promise; . . . for it is written, 'he that receiveth you receiveth me,[6] and he that despiseth you despiseth me.'"[7]

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 35, 36, Ep. 6, A.D. 755.
[2] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 41, Ep. 7, A.D. 755.
[3] *Cyrographum vestram donationem.* [4] *Ipsum cyrographum.*
[5] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 41, Ep. 7, A.D. 755. [6] St. Matt. x. 40.
[7] St. Luke x. 16; Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 160, 161, Ep. 47, A.D. 769.

It was in consideration of such promises given and received that the union was established between the Frankish kingdom and the Roman Church. On July 28, 754, in Paris, in the Church of St. Denis, the Pope, as vicar on earth of St. Peter and of Christ,[1] consecrated Pippin and his two sons, Charles and Karlmann, as kings of the Franks, joining in his blessing Pippin's wife also, the Queen Bertrada, as well as the nobles and chiefs of the Franks, binding all, by threats of interdict and excommunication, never to presume to choose one of another race as king.[2] Upon Pippin and his sons he conferred the additional title of Patrician of the Romans. This title was one which the earlier emperors had been wont to bestow upon barbarian kings, and had been borne in this way by Odoacer, Theodoric, and Clovis. As such it appears to have been a merely honorary title, but it is significant that at this time it had been borne by the exarch whom Aistulf had just overthrown.

Though legally it could be conferred only by the emperor, yet as conferred by the Pope it might serve to identify permanently the King of the Franks with the interests of the city and its lord, the Pope, as patron or protector. It may be noted that the Pope does not connect together patrician and protector, but rather connects the defence of Rome with the anointing as king.[3]

It may be maintained, however, that by this title of Patrician Stephen sought to express, by a formal

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 34, 37.
[2] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 448, c. 27; Boehmer, vol. i., p. 34.
[3] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 36, Ep. 6, p. 38, Ep. 7, A.D. 755.

term, the legal obligation to support and to defend the Roman Church and possessions in Italy. To this obligation he regarded Pippin as morally bound in consideration of his consecration of Pippin as king.[1]

The title of Patrician had been held by a long line of exarchs at Ravenna,[2] and now that the exarchate had been destroyed it might be deemed wise by the Pope to transfer its title and relation to the church to some more able upholder. Whether the Pope, by conferring this title, intended to confer or did confer any power of government or control, as Hegel affirms,[3] may be doubted. At any rate, hardly will it be claimed that Pippin exercised any such power in Rome, though the next Pope, Paul I., before his consecration, announced his elevation to Pippin in the same terms in which his predecessors had announced their elections to the exarchs.[4]

[1] Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 85, 86; Döllinger, "Charles the Great," pp. 92–98; Gregorovius, vol. ii., pp. 281–284; Ducange, "Glossarium," s. v. "Patricius."

[2] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 403, c. 15, p. 404, c. 16 (Paulus), p. 405, c. 19 (Eutychius). On p. 416, c. 4, Sergius is mentioned as Patrician of Sicily. Also in the letters of Gregory I. the governors of provinces are addressed as Patrician. See "The Epistles of St. Gregory the Great," bk. vi., Ep. 57; "Nicene Fathers," second series, vol. xii., p. 205.

[3] Hegel, vol. i., pp. 209, 210.

[4] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 466, note 1; Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 67, 68, Ep. 12, A.D. 757, April or May. His consecration took place May 29, 757, thirty-five days after Stephen's death.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE VICTORY OF PIPPIN OVER AISTULF—LOMBARD TREACHERY—THE SACK OF ROME—THE PAPAL APPEAL—ST. PETER'S LETTER—SECOND VICTORY OF THE FRANKS—PIPPIN'S DONATION—THE REPUBLIC OF ROME—THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE—DEATH OF AISTULF—ACCESSION OF DESIDERIUS—RENEWED DIFFICULTIES.

AISTULF now recognized the fact that the struggle for Italy must be fought out with the Franks unless he could nullify the papal influence. In the midst of the events of the famous year 754, and probably just before the consecration in July, Karlmann, the king's brother, came from his monastery of Monte Cassino to urge Pippin not to yield to the pope's persuasions. It was said that he came, and that his abbot ordered his coming unwillingly, but that being in the Duchy of Benevento—that is, on Lombard territory, they were forced to yield to Aistulf's wishes.[1] Pippin, however, told his brother that he could not do other than what he had prom-

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 753; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 139.

ised to the Roman chief. He then ordered Karlmann to be seized and taken to the monastery of Vienne, where he died that same year.[1]

Pippin then turned his attention to the Lombards. Crossing the Alps, he sent forward his messengers to Aistulf, demanding the immediate cessation of hostilities against the holy church, whose defender he declared himself to be by divine ordination, requiring also the restoration of the territory already seized. Aistulf insolently refused to do anything except to show Pippin the way home. The messengers replied: "Pippin will not depart until you return to St. Peter the Pentapolis and all the other cities and territory unjustly taken from the Roman people; but he offers to pay in consideration twelve thousand solidi." Fortunately for the future firm establishment of the papal power, Aistulf refused this offer and dismissed the messengers with angry threats. Pope Stephen by his letters endeavored to bring about a peaceable settlement in order to avoid bloodshed, but without avail.[2] The arms of Pippin, however, soon accomplished what gentler measures had failed to effect, and Aistulf, besieged in Pavia, promised all that was demanded, and besides yielding up the captured territory, promised to pay thirty thousand solidi and a yearly tribute of five thousand to Pippin. In pledge of this he gave as hostages forty of his nobles.[3] Aistulf, how-

[1] "Ann. Mett.," an. 754; "Einhardi Ann.," an. 753; M. G. SS., vol. i., pp. 332 and 139; "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., pp. 448, 449, c. 30; Boehmer, vol. i., p. 25.

[2] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 449, c. 33.

[3] "Ann. Mett.," an. 754; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 332.

ever, all danger from the Franks being removed, broke the agreement which Pippin had extorted from him, and refused to restore the cities which he had seized. Stephen had evidently foreseen that something of this sort would happen, for he had strenuously urged Pippin to remain in Italy until the Lombards had evacuated Ravenna and the rest of the captured territory. It was probably in consequence of Pippin's refusal or inability to comply with this request that the pope secured from him at this time a written guarantee that the restitution should be made, even if the Frankish army had to cross the Alps again to force the perfidious Lombard to fulfil his promise. That which the pope had feared had come to pass.

In the very next year Aistulf's army thundered at the gates of Rome. The pope therefore wrote as follows: "Pope Stephen to his sons and most excellent lords, Pippin, Charles, and Karlmann, kings and patricians of the Romans." He reminded them of their earnest desire to secure St. Peter's rights, and that they had confirmed the promised restitution by a deed of donation. "However, not one inch of land," he says, "was allowed to go back to the blessed Peter and the holy church of God, the Republic of the Romans. Besides, from the very day on which we parted from each other he (Aistulf) has tried to harass us, and to bring the holy church of God into disgrace." He asks them to trust him rather than the lying Lombards, and promises them victory, and urges them to restore and hand over to the church all that by the "donation" they had

authorized him to present to St. Peter. "Hasten, therefore, to perform what you have promised by your donation, confirmed by your own hand. 'For the blessed Apostle Paul said, Better is it not to vow, than after having vowed not to pay.'"[1] "And you will render an account to God and the blessed Peter in the dreadful day of judgment, how you have labored for the cause of that prince of the apostles and for restoring his cities and places." "This good work has been reserved for you. No one of your ancestors deserved such an effulgent reward, but God pre-elected and foreknew you before infinite time, as it is written, 'whom he foreknew and predestinated them he also called, and whom he called them he also justified.'[2] You have been called, strive to do justice to the prince of the apostles without delay, because it has been written, 'Faith is justified by works.'[3] Farewell, most excellent sons."[4]

In spite of this appeal Pippin made no expedition against the Lombards at this time, and before the year was over he received a second letter from the pope, similar in style and contents, only more urgent and pressing.[5] Pippin, however, refused. Affairs at home were pressing. The usual spring assembly was held in March, though it was decided to hold the meeting after this year in May instead of in

[1] Unfortunately for Stephen's knowledge of Scripture, this verse is Ecclesiastes v. 5, the nearest approach to it in the New Testament being Acts v. 4.
[2] An attempt to quote Romans viii. 29, 30.
[3] Cf. St. James ii. 22, 24.
[4] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 34–37; Ep. 6, A.D. 755.
[5] See quotations on p. 137.

March,[1] and the name was changed from Marfield to Maifield. This change, by which the time of the assembly was made two months later, is significant, as the result of the change in the army introduced by Charles Martel. The war with the Saracens required a more extended use of cavalry than that to which the early Germans had been accustomed in the forests and morasses of their northern homes, and the southern plains, where their contests now for the most part took place, allowed the freer use of horses. The need of forage, therefore, in the expeditions, which followed upon the holding of the assembly at which it was decided, required the holding of that assembly later, when the feeding would be in better condition.

Meanwhile the pope's distress increased, and three letters followed each other in quick succession in the early part of 756. The first was sent not only to the three kings and patricians, but also "to all bishops, abbots, presbyters, and monks, as well as to the dukes, counts, and the whole army in the name of the pope and all the bishops, presbyters, deacons, dukes, the keepers of the records, counts, tribunes, and the whole people and army of the Romans."[2]

The worst had happened. Evils had come thick and fast. The city itself was attacked. On every side it was surrounded by the Lombards, devastating with fire and sword. Churches were pillaged and burned, images of the saints and ornaments of

[1] "Ann. Petav. Contin.," an. 755; Pertz. M. G. SS., i., p. 11.
[2] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 34–48; Ep. 8, A.D. 756.

the altars were destroyed. With a superstition common even to robbers and murderers the Catacombs were entered, and relics of the saints carried away as objects of reverence and worship.

Fifty-five days did Rome endure the siege, and the Lombard king had called aloud in his fury: "Behold you are surrounded by us, let the Franks come now and snatch you out of our hands." "Indeed," wrote the pope, "after God the lives of the Romans are in the hands of the Franks. If they perish the nations will say: 'Where is the trust of the Romans which they had, after God, in the kings and people of the Franks?'" He then proceeds with alternating prayers and threats and promises of reward, appealing to every instinct and passion which might be present in the Frankish breast. This letter he accompanied with one in a similar strain to Pippin personally. Finally, a letter was sent purporting to be written by St. Peter himself. Most of it has been translated by Dr. Mombert with appropriate comments.[1] It is filled with the most solemn adjurations and frightful threats. "I, Peter, the apostle of God . . . adjure you even as if I were bodily in the flesh, alive, and present before you, firmly to believe that the words of this exhortation are addressed to you, and that though I be bodily absent, I am spiritually present."[2] "This letter," says Fleury,[3] "like those preceding it, is full of quibbles. The church signifies not the company of be-

[1] Mombert, "Charles the Great," pp. 44–48.
[2] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 55–60; Ep. 10, A.D. 756.
[3] Fleury, "Eccl. Hist.," l., xlvii., c. 17. Quoted by Mombert, l. c., p. 44, note 1.

lievers, but temporal possessions consecrated to the service of God ; the flock of Christ is represented by the bodies, not by the souls of men ; the temporal promises of the ancient law are mixed up with the spiritual promises of the gospel, and the most sacred motives of religion are pressed into the service of a simple affair of state."

These letters, however, met with an immediate response, and Pippin proceeded to cross the Alps again as Patrician of the Romans and Defender of the Church. Passing through Burgundy, he besieged and took Classe, a city taken by the Lombards at the beginning of the iconoclastic outbreak. On the march to Pavia he was met by messengers of the emperor, who urged him to restore the exarchate and the other cities to their lawful owner as soon as he regained them from the Lombards. Pippin refused point blank, asserting that by no consideration whatever could he be induced to allow those cities to be alienated from the power of the blessed Peter, and from the right of the Roman Church or the pontiffs of the Apostolic See, affirming also under oath that not for the favor of man had he devoted himself so often to the contest, but only for love of the blessed Peter and for the pardon of his sins, asserting this also that no abundance of treasure could induce him to take back that which he had once bestowed upon the blessed Peter.[1]

The siege of Pavia forced Aistulf to surrender with a promise to fulfil his former oath of restitution, and in addition to deliver to Pippin one third

[1] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 452, c. 43–45 ; Boehmer, vol. i., p. 37.

of the treasure stored in Pavia, together with an annual tribute, and never more to rebel against him.[1]

Roughly speaking, this restitution included, according to the early chronicles, Ravenna with the Pentapolis, and the whole of the exarchate.

Foldrad, abbot of St. Denis, was commissioned to execute a treaty as far as it applied to the restitution of the cities. He accordingly went to each of them and received their hostages and signs of submission. He also took their keys, which together with the donation he placed on the tomb of St. Peter, thus giving them "to that apostle of God and to his vicar, the most holy pope, and to all his successors forever to have in their possession and at their disposal."[2]

This was the formal act on which was laid the foundations of the temporal power of the papacy. It will be well to stop for a moment to analyze it and to consider its justice and significance.

We have noted the steps by which the popes came to exercise a certain temporal power in Italy,

[1] In the life of Stephen it is declared that this restitution includes Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Jesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Urbino, Cagli, Gubbio, Marni, Commachio, but the exact territory is still a matter of dispute. Duchesne says, note 51, on p. 460 of "Lib. Pontif.": "The cities are probably those of the treaty and donation of 754, and represent probably all the conquests of Aistulf on imperial territory. At the death of Liutprand, the Lombard frontier extended between Imola and Ravenna, and all these places are situated east of a line between the Apennines and the Po, perpendicular to the route between Imola and Ravenna. As far as identified they are given above, to which may be added San Leo, Vobio or Bobio (Sarsina), Conca, Acerreagium and Serra. See Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 87–91; 218–220; Gregorovius, vol. ii., pp. 295–301; Bury, vol. ii., p. 500; Alzog., vol. ii., pp. 144–147.

[2] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. i., p. 454, c. xlvii.

especially in the central and northern parts. At first only over the landed possessions or scattered estates of the church, but soon increasing and extending to other parts of Italy, first, by reason of the strong personality, marked ability, and courageous foresight of popes like Gregory I., II., and III.; secondly, on account of the demand for some strong central power to defend Rome against the attacks of the Lombards, to protect the Italians from the exorbitant taxation and irreverent zeal of the emperors, and from disunion and disintegration; and, thirdly, because of the inability and weakness of the exarchate to fulfil this function, and the impossibility of the emperor's doing it owing to his distance from the scene, and the battles in defence of Europe against the Avars, the Persians, and the Mahometans, which engaged all his attention and resources in the East.

Thus gradually, almost unconsciously, without charters, decrees, or treaties, the bishop of Rome had come to be the recognized leader and director of the civilized forces of the West, and almost insensibly had come to be the self-appointed delegate or representative of the imperial power. In this last attack of the Lombards the imperial forces had utterly failed, the emperor could give no aid, the exarchate had been overthrown, and even the pope, as the only other representative of the imperial power, had been unable to accomplish anything directly against the greedy and victorious Aistulf. Surely the empire had forfeited all claims to its former possessions in the West. But the bishop of

Rome, by the spiritual position and prestige which he had already gained, had sanctioned the transference of the kingly name and power from one family to another in a far Western kingdom, which had won its independence of the Roman Empire centuries before, and he had thereby established a strong power and gained an able and effective ally. Upon the representative of this new kingship he had bestowed the spiritual benediction and anointing of the church, giving him as a seal of his mission the title of patrician, not of the empire, but of the Romans, the people of the Apostolic Church of Peter, the chief of the apostles. The first representative of the new line of kings in the West created or established, not by the empire, but by the church, had won by force of arms from the enemies of the empire that which the empire had been unable to keep. In fulfilment of his promise, he now restored to the church and Roman Republic, whose nominal head was the emperor, but whose real head was the pope, that temporal sovereignty which she had been gathering up as the empire had been letting it fall, which had actually passed into the hands of the Lombards, and now, by actual conquest by Pippin and by gift from him, she had received. The emperor had lost his power by inability to defend it. Pippin had gained it by conquest from the Lombards, the pope received it because he had exercised it practically before the Lombard seized it, and because Pippin had been willing to bestow it upon him.

What, then, was this power, and what was its sig-

nificance? Pope Stephen III. speaks of it as the Republic of Rome, by which he apparently intended to signify the Roman State in general, the leadership and authority of Rome, which for so long a time had been personified in him, and so had come to be inseparably united with the power he exercised as bishop of Rome and successor of St. Peter.

Rome had increased in political importance till with the patrimony of St. Peter, consisting of cities and towns scattered over Italy and the island of Sicily, it became a sort of principality under the suzerainty of the Roman emperor. Thus the old idea of the Roman State was revived, and came to be considered a real republic with its own army (*exercitus romanus*) and its own constitution and interests, the papal.

It was mainly by wealth and religious consideration that the popes had been brought into such a prominent political position, so that at the failure of the imperial rule the secular powers are found occupying a subordinate place. This is seen also in the way in which even the emperors recognized the influence which the popes were able to exercise over the Lombards.

The republic, however, seems to denote no actual constitution, but is a phrase revived and used by Stephen and his successors to indicate a government independent of and apart from the empire. Just what was the form or extent of this power is not definitely stated.

Pippin had driven off the Lombards who had harassed and threatened the pope, and had interfered

with the power he was already exercising in nominal dependence upon the emperor. By the donation of this territory Pippin did undoubtedly cede to the church the cities of the exarchate and Pentapolis free from imperial oversight and from Lombard encroachment. "As the Eastern emperor is no longer recognized as having any rights, no more does Pippin claim any such for himself; nor was there in Rome any mention of an overlordship of Pippin. On the other hand, all connection with the emperor of the East was not given up in Rome, and the regnal years of the emperor continued to be used in assigning dates." [1]

But the great temporal power of the Roman See was not gained by any single act or stroke of policy, nor did it come all at once, nor was it definitely outlined at each step of its progress. All has been told that can be known at the present. A further development and a greater definiteness will be noted under Charles the Great.

Pippin returned home after his victories, but the new relations of the king and his people to the Lombards and to Rome had brought about great changes, and gave promise of still greater ones. For weal or for woe, the new kingship was irrevocably bound up with the papacy.

On a hunting expedition at the close of the year Aistulf was killed by a fall, and the pope informs Pippin of the fact in a letter written in the spring

[1] Waitz, iii., p. 89. This author, referring to Papencordt, p. 134, note, says that this was used for the last time in 772, but Bury, p. 503, gives 781 as the last year.

of 757. "Aistulf, that tyrant and devil-follower, devourer of the blood of Christians, destroyer of the churches of God, has been struck by a divine blow and hurled into the abyss of hell."[1] Having left no heir, the choice of the Lombards, "with the consent," we read, "of King Pippin and his nobles,"[2] turned to Desiderius, Duke of Tuscany, and he became their king. He immediately gained the pope's good will by restoring to him the cities which Aistulf had failed to surrender, although stipulated in the treaty. In April, 757, Stephen himself died, and his successor, Paul I., brother of Stephen, hastened to announce his election to "the new Moses and David." A letter also followed in the name of all the Senate and the whole body of the Roman people,[3] assuring him of their gratitude, and declaring that they will remain firm and faithful to the holy church and to Paul, by God's decree their lord, supreme pontiff, and universal pope.[4] Desiderius, however, failed to fulfil all his promises, and, the pope having incited the Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto to revolt and to seek the protection of the king of the Franks,[5] he advanced against them, marching through Pentapolis, pillaging and devastating on every side. He even went so far as to propose an alliance with the emperor for the reconquest of Ravenna. At the same time he met the pope in Rome, and after some negotia-

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 64; Ep. 11, A.D. 757.
[2] "Ann. Met.," an. 756; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 333.
[3] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 67, 68; Ep. 12, A.D. 757.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 69–72; Ep. 13, A.D. 757.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75; Ep. 15, A.D. 758.

tions for the delivery of the cities still held back, Paul apparently consented to order a return of the hostages whom Aistulf had given to Pippin. The pope even sent a letter to Pippin, informing him that his most excellent son, King Desiderius, had come peaceably and with great humility to the threshold of the apostles, promising to restore Imola, one of the cities ; he therefore adjured Pippin to confirm the peace with him and to send back the hostages.[1] He sent a letter secretly at the same time, in which he told Pippin of the proposed league with the emperor, the devastation of the Pentapolis, and the evil inflicted upon the Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, who had declared themselves his allies and had put themselves under the protection of the Franks. He affirms his demand for all the cities, and begs Pippin to stand firm and not to yield to the perfidious trickster, and unblushingly declares that the other letter was written to deceive Desiderius, so that by seeming to comply he might be able to send messengers declaring the true state of affairs.[2] Already the pope, by his attempt to gain and hold his temporal sovereignty, was plunged into the wiles and tricks of worldly diplomacy. A treaty was finally effected in 760, whereby all the towns but one, Imola, were given up, and the pope and Lombard king enabled to live in friendly relations.

As we have seen, the pope continued nominally at least to acknowledge the emperor, though he

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 75, 77 ; Ep. 16, A.D. 758.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 77–83 ; Ep. 17, A.D. 758.

ceased to await imperial confirmation for his election, while the emperor no longer received tribute from the Roman province, nor did any Byzantine exercise official authority in the city. From this time on, however, the temporal rule of the popes, now for the first time formally and authoritatively held, brings about local disputes and strifes. Municipal rights and popular privileges demanded recognition, while the office and position of the papacy itself became an object of ambition and desire to those seeking merely earthly power, position, and wealth.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FINAL STRUGGLE OF THE LOMBARDS—THE FORGED DONATION OF CONSTANTINE—THE FRANKISH CONQUEST OF AQUITANIA—THE AQUITANIAN CAPITULARY—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANKISH CHURCH AND THE DIOCESAN AND METROPOLITAN SYSTEM—PIPPIN'S RELATIONS WITH CONSTANTINOPLE AND WITH BAGDAD.

HE year 756 was an epochal year in the history of the papacy, for from it dates the formal establishment of the temporal power of the popes. The famous "Donation of Constantine" was devised also at about this same time, for it is closely connected with the events then happening. The Lombards were making their last strenuous endeavor to conquer and to unite all Italy in one great kingdom under their own sway. Their aim, which, carried out, would make them masters of Rome, and their nearness to the city, made them more to be dreaded than the distant Greeks, however oppressive at times. Yet the emperor already was losing his hold on Italy, and could no longer defend it, and to the

Franks the pope had turned with a new hope, though not yet seeing his way clear to dispense altogether with the Byzantine suzerainty. It even appears probable that Gregory II. had made an attempt to form a confederation of States in Italy with the pope at the head, but it had come to nothing.[1] The idea remained, and the donation was put forward to give it an historic basis, and to meet what seemed to be the needs of the period.

The form of donation occurs at the end of a long document purporting to be an edict of Constantine, included by Pseudo-Isidore in his collection of Decretals and printed in full by Hinschius in his edition.[2] The author relates that Constantine more than twenty years before his death was baptized at Rome by Pope Sylvester, and at the same time cured of leprosy.[3] Constantine declares his acceptance of the faith, which the pope had taught him, including a full statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, and exhorts all people and nations to hold the same. He then proceeds, out of gratitude and reverence, to bestow upon the papal see imperial power and honor, he gives to it the highest authority over the other patriarchates, and all the other churches in the world, as the supreme judge in all matters of worship and of faith. To the pope, refusing to wear the imperial diadem offered by Constantine, he grants the tiara, specially designed for him, and all the rest of the imperial ornaments and

[1] Döllinger, pp. 121, 122.

[2] Hinschius, pp. 249–254, cf. Preface, p. lxxxiii.; Gieseler, vol. ii., p. 118, note 21. Translated in Henderson, pp. 319–329.

[3] Döllinger, pp. 89–103.

insignia. Upon the Roman clergy are conferred the honors and dignities of the highest officers, patricians and consuls, with all the privileges of senators and their insignia. Constantine also gives up the Lateran Palace, the remaining sovereignty over Rome, all the provinces, cities, and places of Italy, as well as of the western regions, transferring the seat of his own imperial power to Byzantium, affirming that it was not right that the earthly emperor should have his seat where the heavenly emperor had established the principality of the priesthood and the head of the Christian religion.

The whole stupendous forgery, of which one does not know what to marvel at most, the audacity of conception or the credulity of reception, was undoubtedly the work of a Roman ecclesiastic at Rome. It is most important as showing that the prevailing idea in the mind of a Roman Churchman in the eighth century was the desire to make the pope and his clergy equal in magnificence and ceremonial to the emperor.[1]

The first apparent reference to this donation occurs in a letter written by Hadrian I. to Charles the Great in 778,[2] bringing it forward as a basis of appeal to the king to emulate the deeds of the mighty emperor.

Its application to islands as being public domain was first made by Urban II. in his claim to Corsica. By it Hadrian IV. made claim to Ireland, and thereupon proceeded to make a grant of the island to

[1] Bryce, pp. 100–102; Gregorovius, ii., pp. 361, 362.
[2] Jaffé, iv., pp. 197–201, Ep. 61.

Henry II.[1] It continued to be used in these ways, though with occasional opposition and some limitation, but with increasing emphasis from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

Marsilius of Padua, in his *Defensor Pacis*, turned it against the popes by drawing from it the conclusion that even the ecclesiastical supremacy of the papacy rested on an imperial grant, and so was merely human and invalid. Its spurious character was proved most effectively by Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, in the middle of the fifteenth century, and also, though less ably, by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and by Laurentius Valla. Since then it has been universally given up. Dante, tracing to it the origin of the temporal power, says of its supposed author :

> " Ah, Constantine ! of how much ill was mother,
> Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower,
> Which the first wealthy Father took from thee."[2]

Though there has been much speculation as to the nature and extent of this power, and though much was left indefinite owing to its unprecedented character, some certain conclusions may be fairly drawn from the facts.

First, Pippin did hand over to the pope the temporal possession and sovereignty over the cities and lands in question which had formerly been vested in the emperor. This is proved by the fact that

[1] Hadrian's Bull is given in Lyttleton's "Henry II.," vol. iii., pp. 323, 324, translated in Henderson, pp. 10, 11. Also given in Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. i., p. 15.

[2] Dante, "Inferno," xix., 115–118. Longfellow's translation.

Pippin refused at the request of the emperor's envoys to give them over to the emperor, but said that he should give them to the pope.

Secondly, the pope held and exercised this temporal sovereignty. This is proved by the fact that in a letter from the senate and people of Rome, written to Pippin, they acknowledged themselves to be the faithful subjects of the pope, and no other authority than his and the officers of his appointment was recognized in these cities, the keys of which had been given up to the Abbot Fulrad and deposited in the shrine of St. Peter.

Thirdly, the emperor recognized that he had lost the power over this territory. This is proved by the fact of the proposed alliance between the emperor and Desiderius in order to win back the exarchate.

As to the right of the pope to receive this power, it has been well expressed by Gibbon :

" In the rigid interpretation of the laws every one may accept without injury whatever his benefactor may bestow without injustice. The Greek emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the exarchate ; and the sword of Aistolphus was broken by the stronger sword of the Carolingian." [1]

As to the expediency of holding this power and the changes which it wrought in the future character and activity of the papacy, history itself gives the best answer, and the complete consideration of it would require a separate treatise. It has been defended by some and deprecated by others. It was the first step and the chief instrument in freeing the

[1] Gibbon, " Roman Empire," ch. xlix.

church from subservience to any earthly sovereign, and gave it a position of power and influence which enabled it to protect and extend the work of the church throughout Europe. On the other hand, its dangers were great, and its results in many cases were evil.

It brought about a secularization of the life and aims of the popes and chief officers which extended throughout the church, whereby it was involved in the conflicts and the strifes of the other temporal kingdoms. It made the papacy itself the coveted object of strife and ambition, the centre of feuds and jealousies, and the sport and prey of unworthy men and parties. This wealth and power led to an increase of pride, luxury, and ambition which fostered evil and corruption in the papacy and set an evil example to others. It was the fruitful source of weakness and the real cause of downfall and decay. There is a legend that on the occasion of Constantine's donation an angel was said to have cried from heaven : " Woe ! woe ! this day poison hath been infused into the church." A contemporary of Dante said that Constantine added to the stole of the priests a sword which they did not know how to wield, and thus broke the strength of the empire.[1]

In 768 an antipope was seated on the papal throne by his brother Toto, duke in Nepi. Two of the chief officers at Rome feigned a desire for the monastic life, and fled to Desiderius, bringing back a Lombard army to put down the usurper. After

[1] Döllinger, pp. 167, 168.

severe fighting, followed by an attempt to consecrate a Lombard, another Stephen was elected, and the usurper and his followers severely punished. Stephen IV. turned to Pippin for support and aid, but Pippin had died on September 24th, 768. During the last years of his life he had been constantly at war with the Duke of Aquitania. The Saxons at first had taken his attention, but he had finally subdued them, thrown down their strongholds, forced them to pay an annual tribute of three hundred horses and receive the Christian missionaries.

In 760 he attacked Waifar, Duke of Aquitania, on the ground of his infringement of the rights and property of the Frankish churches which were situated in Aquitania, as well as for other reasons. Few battles were fought; as soon as Pippin appeared with his army, Waifar surrendered, only to assert his independence as soon as Pippin withdrew his forces. In 768, however, he had taken the mother, sisters, and nieces of Waifar, and in June the duke himself was killed—murdered, it was said, by some at the instigation of Pippin. All Aquitania submitted to him, and measures were at once taken to solidify and unite the newly acquired territory. Counts and judges were established, and the so-called Aquitanian capitulary proclaimed that deserted churches should be restored and their services continued by those who held the income of their property, all needed for religious purposes not to be alienated, and any taken to be restored. Bishops, abbots, and abbesses to live in accordance with their holy order. Provision was also made for the hold-

ing and proper care of benefices and regulations for the comfort and convenience of those attending the army or the Maifield. Right of appeal to the king was secured, and the privilege of every man, wherever he might be, to be tried by the law of his own country. Lastly, none should presume to resist whatever was decreed by the king's commissioners and the elders of the land for the king's profit or the welfare of the church.[1]

The internal regulation of ecclesiastical affairs had gone on after the death of Boniface on the lines laid down by him. In July, 755, a very important council was held at Verneuil, at which not only nearly all the bishops of Gaul were present, but Pippin himself was there, and took an interested part in its discussions and decisions. By the provisions of this council bishops were to be appointed in each city who should be under the metropolitans, each bishop to have rule over the clergy, both regular and secular, in his own diocese. Synods were to be held twice a year: the first in March wherever the king should appoint, and in his presence; the other in October, either at Soissons or wherever the bishops agreed upon at the March synod. At this synod all bishops under the metropolitans should be present, and all others, whether bishops, abbots, or presbyters, whom the metropolitans summoned. The monastic rule should be observed by monks and nuns under the orders of the bishop of the diocese. If opposition arises the metropolitan is to be notified, and if that fails, recourse may

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 42, 43.

be had to the public synod held in March. In the event of further refusal, the offender may be deposed or excommunicated by all the bishops and another put in his place at the synod by the word and will of the king or by the consent of the bishops. There is to be no public baptistry in a diocese save where the bishop appoints, but in case of necessity or illness presbyters whom the bishop has appointed may baptize wherever convenient. Presbyters are to be under the rule of the bishops, and none is to baptize or to celebrate Mass without the order of the bishop of the diocese. All presbyters were to assemble at the council of the bishops. A bishop may depose or excommunicate his presbyters for cause. Being excommunicated, he cannot enter a church nor eat nor drink with any Christian, nor accept his gifts, nor give the kiss, nor unite in prayer, nor exchange greetings until reconciled with his bishop. If any claims to be unjustly excommunicated, he may go to the metropolitan and have a new trial. If still unwilling to submit, he will be forced into exile by the king. Canon XX. of Chalcedon is repeated forbidding to remove to another city or to serve under a layman except in case of necessity. Wandering bishops, without a fixed diocese, shall not serve in any diocese nor ordain except by the order of the bishop of the diocese. Any offence against this rule is to be punished by the synod. Sunday is to be kept, not after the Jewish fashion of absolute idleness, but so as not to interfere with going to church. But of this the clergy and not the laity shall judge. All marriages,

both of nobles and low born, shall be performed publicly. Clergy shall not administer estates nor engage in secular affairs except for churches, widows, and orphans, by the order of the bishop. In case of the death of a bishop, his bishopric shall not be left vacant more than three months except by great and urgent necessity. Surely at the next synod a bishop shall be ordained. No cleric shall be tried by the laity except by the express order of his bishop or abbot. All immunities are assured to all the churches. Counts and judges at their courts shall try first the cases of orphans, widows, and churches, and others afterwards. No one shall attain any office or rank in the church for money; nor shall any bishop, abbot, or layman take any fee for administering justice.

This important document completed the establishment of the diocesan system throughout the Frankish kingdom on the lines laid down by Boniface in the early synods held under Pippin and Karlmann. It also established the system of metropolitans. It will be noticed, however, that no mention is made of the Bishop of Rome, and that the higher authority in appeals and other matters above the metropolitans rests with the synod and in the last extreme with the king.[1]

Pippin's interests and relations, however, were not confined to his own kingdom and the neighboring Lombards. In spite of the fact that he had refused to hand over to the emperor the territory conquered for and given to the pope, his relations with the emperor continued to be friendly, and in the

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 32–37.

very next year (757) he received an embassy from Constantinople bringing rich gifts, and among them an organ, an instrument as yet unknown in Gaul and the object of great admiration. In 765 he had sent an embassy to Bagdad, and in the April before he died his messengers had returned with envoys from the court of Almansor, father of the famous Haroun al Raschid. For, strange as it may seem, just at this very time, when the final separation was beginning to take place between the eastern and western parts of the great Roman empire, and of the Christian Church, when a new kingdom was rising in the West about to have a line of emperors of its own, and a separate ecclesiastical organization was growing up under the Pope of Rome as in the East under the Patriarch of Constantinople, so in the great Mahometan empire south of the Mediterranean a mighty revolution had taken place. In 750 the Ommiads, who for nearly a hundred years had held the caliphate, ruling at Damascus, were overthrown by the Abassides, who seized the caliphate, and soon after, under Almansor, founded Bagdad and made that the seat of power. One of the Ommiads, however, had escaped, and crossing through Africa and the Straits of Gibraltar, had founded in 755 an independent caliphate at Cordova. It was against the adherents of this caliph and his successors that the Franks were fighting, and thus it came to pass that the king of the Franks found that he had a natural ally in the Caliph of Bagdad, while the emperor at Constantinople, at war with the Saracens at his own doors, would be inclined to look with favor on their rivals in the western caliphate.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WORK OF PIPPIN — HIS DEATH — DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM BETWEEN CHARLES AND KARLMANN—REVOLT OF THE AQUITANIANS—FRANKISH ALLIANCE WITH THE LOMBARDS—DEATH OF KARLMANN—CHARLES SOLE KING —THE SUBJUGATION AND CONVERSION OF SAXONY—EARLY SAXON MISSIONARIES.

THE work of Pippin was finished. The church was established in an organized and systematic form under abbots, bishops, and metropolitans throughout the Frankish kingdom; heathenism was being gradually but surely eliminated within its borders, while missions were extended and missionaries placed under royal protection among peoples not yet converted to Christianity; the papacy was established at Rome over a spiritual and temporal sovereignty under the protectorate of a new line of Frankish kings; the kingdom itself was unified and consolidated, and its principal parts, Austrasia, Neustria, and last of all Aquitania, united under one head; and the people on its borders, the Saxons, Bavarians, Lombards, and Saracens, reduced

to submission or confined within fixed bounds, which, on the south, were the Mediterranean Sea and the Pyrenees Mountains. But the great king did not live to enjoy this triumph. On his return to Saintes, at the close of his successful campaign against the Aquitanians, he was taken ill with fever. At Tours he stopped to visit the shrine of St. Martin and to implore aid. His prayers were of no avail, though accompanied with rich gifts to the church and the poor. With his wife and sons, Charles and Karlmann, he proceeded to Paris to the monastery of St. Denis. Here, about the middle of September, feeling that his end was near, he assembled for the last time the nobles of his realm, dukes and counts, bishops and clergy, and with their consent divided his kingdom equally between his two sons, who had been anointed with him, fourteen years before, by the pope and had received the title of Patricians of the Romans. On September 24th, 768, Pippin died, at the age of fifty-four, and was buried at St. Denis. Much confusion exists as to the division of his kingdom, and though little is known much has been written.[1] It seems probable, however, that the three parts of the kingdom, Neustria, Aquitania, and Austrasia, with all the eastern parts, were divided in such a way that each king should have a part of each, that the unity of the whole kingdom might be preserved and the separation of nationalities avoided. Thus each had both Germans and Romans, though the former predomi-

[1] Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 95–98; Abel–Simson, vol. i., pp. 23–30; Boehmer, vol. i., p. 49.

nated in the kingdom of Charles, and the latter in the kingdom of Karlmann. It is possible that Neustria was to be held by them both in common, as it is not expressly named in the accounts of the divisions, and at the formal coronation of the two kings, which took place on the same day (October 9th), Charles was crowned at Noyon, and Karlmann at Soissons, both cities in Neustria, not far apart. The principle of division, which seems to us a very unfortunate weakening of a unity established at great cost and labor, was firmly established among all the German peoples, had been invariably followed by the Merovingians and continued by the mayors of the palace. It did serve undoubtedly to check civil war and dangerous conspiracies. So well recognized was it that Stephen, in crowning Pippin, had anointed both his sons at the same time.

Division here, however, as in the case of Pippin before, was of short duration, for Karlmann did not long survive his father, and in 771 Charles ruled alone.

Hardly had the two kings begun to reign when news came of the revolt of the Aquitanians. The death of their duke, Waifer, seemed to have insured their submission ; but the death of Pippin and the division of the kingdom held out to them the hope of independence. The old duke, Hunold, Waifer's father, left the monastery in which he had taken refuge after his defeat by Pippin and the murder of his brother in 744, and headed the revolt which extended from Poitou to the Pyrenees. The wisdom of Pippin's method of division was now apparent,

for both brothers hastened with their armies to put down the revolt. Karlmann, however, soon returned and left his brother to carry on the campaign alone. Hunold was driven to seek refuge in Wasconia, far in the south, but at the command of Charles both he and his wife were delivered up to the conqueror by Lupus, the duke of the Wasconians. The revolt was at an end, and Charles returned with his captives, who appear no more in history. The relations between the brothers were still more strained by Karlmann's desertion. The latter had not been kindly disposed towards his brother, whom he regarded as having no rights in the kingdom, having been born before his father became king, or perhaps before his father's marriage. Charles felt his power and position threatened, and at once made overtures to Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, and to Desiderius, king of the Lombards. A reconciliation between the brothers was effected by the queen-mother, Bertrada, and the result was announced to the pope, who sent his congratulations, glad to be relieved of the prospect of an alliance between the Lombards and one of the Frankish kings.[1]

But the danger was not wholly averted. Tassilo was the son of the sister of Pippin, and consequently the cousin of Charles and of Karlmann. He had been for some time practically independent of the Frankish kingdom, and though he had taken the oath of vassalage in 757, he had afterwards refused his aid in the Aquitanian campaign, and Pippin had

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 155–158 ; Ep. 46, 769 A.D.

been too much engaged to force him to repent and renew his oath. In the meantime he had married a daughter of Desiderius, and formed a close political alliance with the Lombards. It was Bertrada's plan to unite them all, and with this end in view she restored friendly relations between the cousins and proposed marriages between her sons and two of the daughters of Desiderius, and between her daughter Gisla and the son of Desiderius. When the pope heard of this his rage knew no bounds, and he gave a most emphatic expression to it in a long letter which he wrote to the two brothers.[1] The marriages of the two brothers to the Lombard princesses seem to have taken place, but not of their sister, and she was induced to give it up and enter a convent.

Karlmann having died December 4th, 771, and leaving only minor children without right to the succession, Charles took possession of the rest of the kingdom. Karlmann's widow and her children retired to the court of her father, the Lombard king; and Charles, having decided to renounce alliance with Desiderius, disowned his Lombard wife and sent her back to her father.

Charles now began to give evidence of the policy he intended to follow, and the greatness of his purposes began to appear. The work of his ancestors he took up and completed, and for a short time united all of Western Europe in one great empire. His reign lasted for more than forty years, and during that time the world was filled with the renown

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 158–164; Ep. 47, 769 A.D.

of his deeds. He increased on all sides the extent of the Frankish kingdom, completed the union of the German people, attacked and overthrew the enemies of Western Christendom, cemented the relations with the church, and more completely brought about the union of the German elements with Christianity, thereby giving to the Western world a new form and preparing for the German people a great future.

His deeds are alike significant, whether regarded from the standpoint of general European history or of German history alone. Even the earliest chroniclers give him the title of "Great," though it was not at first a formal surname. By the French it has been incorporated into his own name, and he is generally known as Charlemagne.

Of his early life we catch only the slightest glimpses in a few stray notices in connection with his father. He was born April 2d, 742, and received the anointing by the pope in 754, was crowned in 768, became sole king in 771, and reigned until his death in 814. During this long reign he was engaged in fifty-five campaigns, eighteen of them against the Saxons. In all he showed great powers of command, quickness of foresight and of judgment, rapidity and force in execution, prudence and tact in management. In order to accomplish this result he reorganized the army, uniting the military service due from vassals with the liability of each freeman.

His relations with the church are of the greatest importance and interest; he had been the one to meet the pope and escort him to his father when

Stephen had crossed the Alps, and, with his brother, he had been anointed with the holy oil, and received the title of Patrician of the Romans. From that time on everything which he undertook and accomplished stood in the closest connection with the authority and influence of the church which had its centre in Rome. By his efforts Christianity was extended and the church protected; he also received its support in his undertakings, and it acknowledged him as its lord protector and intercessor. All ecclesiastical affairs, questions of constitution and of discipline, as well as of doctrine, he took into consideration, and through him they found settlement and decision, sometimes without, or even in opposition to, the Roman bishop. He stood as head of the church in his own kingdom. Alcuin calls him "Pontifex," the monk of St. Gall, "Bishop of the Bishops." The bishops of that time saw in him not only the mighty protector of the church, but also their reformer and supreme governor. Contemporaries regarded him as the preserver and father of Christianity. He calls himself the defender of the holy church, and in all things the aid of the apostolic see. He still further developed and strengthened the union with the papacy established by his predecessors. In this connection his contests with the Saxons and with the Lombards deserve careful consideration.

His wars with the Saxons were of the greatest importance to Christianity and to the church. Living far in the North, as yet uninfluenced by Roman armies, art, or religion, the Saxons still dwelt on

the banks of the Elbe, by the shores of the Northern Sea, wild, barbarous, careless of danger, and enemies alike to civilization, to Christianity, and to the Franks. While the other German peoples, the Lombards, Goths, and Vandals, left their original homes to wander south and east and west in the great Völkerwanderung of the fourth century, the Saxons had only enlarged their borders and taken up the lands thus left. Some of their tribes, invited by greed of gain and impelled by increasing numbers, had crossed to Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries and founded England ; but the rest, Westphalians, Angarians, and Eastphalians, abode still in the North until they extended from the Eider to the union of the Fulda and the Werra, and from the Elbe and Saale to the Rhine. There they remained like a mighty reservoir of water threatening to overflow its bounds and with a sweeping flood to engulf the country.

Little had they changed since Tacitus wrote of them from what he learned of their nearer tribes. They were not a nation or a people, but merely great federations of tribes, each tribe or *gau* acknowledging a head or leader of the host, who exercised religious, military, and judicial authority, several uniting under a chosen leader in time of great need, for defence or for attack.

A general description of the long and cruel war which Charles waged cannot be given in any clearer way than in the words of Einhard in his " Life of Charles the Great."

" No war ever undertaken by the Franks was car-

ried on with longer persistence, more bitterness, or greater labor, because the Saxons, like most of the other tribes of Germany, were fierce by nature, given up to the worship of evil spirits, and opposed to our religion, not deeming it dishonorable to transgress and violate all law, human and divine. There were other circumstances, also, which led to a breach of the peace every day, for our frontiers and theirs were almost everywhere contiguous in an open country, and it was only at rare intervals that dense forests or mountain ridges defined clearly the boundary limits and kept the two peoples apart. Consequently along the whole frontier murders, thefts, and arsons were being perpetrated constantly on both sides. These outrages so irritated the Franks that they resolved to be content no longer with mere retaliation, but to declare open war against them.

"Once begun, the war went on for thirty-three years, although it might have been ended sooner had it not been for the faithlessness of the Saxons. It would be difficult to tell how many times, conquered and submissive, they put themselves at the king's mercy and swore obedience to his commands, giving without delay the hostages[1] required, and received the officers sent them by the king. Sometimes they were so weakened and subdued that they

[1] Among these were youths whom Charles entrusted to various monasteries to be brought up and educated in the Christian religion, and whom afterwards he sent back to preach the gospel in their own land. It is interesting to note that among such was Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, the "Apostle of Denmark" and the reputed author of the forged Decretals. See translatio S. Viti. M. G. SS., vol. ii.

promised to renounce the worship of evil spirits and to accept Christianity, but they were just as ready to break these agreements as they were to make them. Indeed, after the war began, hardly a year passed without such evidence of fickleness on their part. But the great courage and determined resolution of the king, unflinching alike in success and in defeat, kept him unmoved by their inconstancy, and steadfast in the accomplishment of his purposes. He never allowed their perfidy to go unpunished, but after such breach of faith he himself or one of his counts led an army against them to wreak vengeance and to inflict upon them a just punishment. At last, after a final victory, he took ten thousand with their wives and children and scattered them in a thousand different places in Gaul and in Germany.

"Thus they were brought to accept the terms of the king, in accordance with which they abandoned their demon worship, renounced their national religious customs, embraced the Christian faith, received the divine sacraments, and were united with the Franks, forming one people." [1]

Treachery and revolt, the destruction of churches, and killing of priests and of missionaries may be attributed to the Saxons, but they were fighting for home and liberty against a foreign invader; cruelty and savage butchery characterized the warfare of the Franks; but they were fighting for the spread of civilization and of Christianity, and though the greatness of Charles appears here also, yet from the midst of the Saxon warriors looms up the magnifi-

[1] Einhard, "Vita Karoli," c. 7; Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 515, 516.

cent form of their great leader, Wittekind, one of the noblest of the heathen heroes, while the Saxons have left us no chronicles setting forth the glory and the justice of their cause.

A few details are worth our notice. At the very beginning of the struggle the destruction by Charles of the Irmensaul—a sacred object connected with their worship—the burning of a Christian church, and the driving away of the missionaries by the Saxons showed the bitterness underlying the struggle. It was darkness resisting the oncoming light; barbarism attempting to stay the progress of order and civilization; the old heathenism opposing the spreading Christianity. Gradually the strongholds of the Saxons were wrenched away, new ones built, and Frankish garrisons placed in them. In 776, the chronicler relates:

"The Saxons, all greatly terrified, coming from every side, surrendered and promised to be Christians, submitting to the rule of King Charles and of the Franks. In the next year," he continues, "a multitude of the Saxons were baptized, and, according to their custom, gave up all their free and allodial lands as a pledge that they would not revolt again, according to their evil custom, but would ever keep their Christianity and their fidelity to the lord King Charles, his sons, and the Frankish people." [1]

The Mayfield of this year (777) was held at Paderborn, in the heart of the Saxon country. The whole military host with both the Frankish and the

[1] "Ann. Lauriss," an. 776, 777; M. G. SS., vol. i., pp. 156–158.

Saxon leaders was gathered there. The conditions laid down for peace and the reception to equal rights with the Franks were the accepting of Christianity and the obligation of military service by the Saxons.

Partly by force, partly by persuasion, and partly by offers of gifts and rewards, they were induced to accept Christianity and to be baptized. On the banks of the Lippe, in the presence of the king, the Frankish clergy and all the Frankish army, the whole Saxon nation was baptized. It was an impressive and significant sight, but it was of prophetic rather than of actual significance. The hostages were put in charge of the bishops and counts of the realm, and Saxon noblemen were won over to the Frankish service. The conquered district was divided and assigned to bishops, priests, and abbots, who established monasteries, preached and baptized. An army was assembled and Saxon nobles put in command, and counties were established with Saxon counts.

At an assembly held in 782 a special set of capitularies was enacted for the newly added Saxon subjects, by which Christianity and the Frankish rule were together established and confirmed. These capitularies are interesting and valuable for the light they throw upon the methods of establishing Christianity in a new country and among a heathen people. They declare that Christian churches are to have as much honor as the old heathen temples; are to be places of refuge and protected from violence and robbery; the Lenten fast to be observed, and death to be the punishment for eating meat

except in case of necessity. The murder of a bishop, priest, or deacon is also punishable by death without allowing the payment of the wergeld. The old heathen practices connected with cremation, the burning of men possessed by devils, and also the human sacrifices of heathenism are forbidden. Refusal to be baptized is also punishable by death. Participation in pagan plots against Christians, unfaithfulness to the king, violence done to the daughter of a lord, the killing of a lord or lady are punishable in the same manner. "But if for these mortal crimes, secretly committed, any one shall go of his own will to the priest and make a confession and do penance, he shall be released on the testimony of the priest." Provision is made for a house and land connected with each church and for the number of servants furnished to the priest in proportion to the population. Church tithes are also required, including property and labor, binding on noble and on peasant alike. No assembly or public courts to be held on Sunday except under great necessity or in time of war, "but all shall go to church and hear the Word of God and take part in prayer and religious deeds." The same law shall be observed on the great festival days. Children must be baptized within their first year, and for neglect nobles shall pay a fine of one hundred and twenty solidi; freemen, sixty; and serfs, thirty. Marriages taking place within prohibited degrees are punishable by fine. Worship at fountains or trees, or in groves connected with the old heathen worship, was to be punished with a heavy fine, and

service is to be rendered to the church until the fine is paid. The bodies of Christian Saxons are to be placed in church cemeteries and not in pagan tombs. Robbers and malefactors fleeing from one county to another shall be given up, and any one receiving them for more than seven days falls under the royal ban. No one is to be prevented from going to the king for justice. Gifts and rewards shall not be taken against the innocent, and any one giving a pledge or security shall be allowed to redeem it. Peace must be maintained between the counts, and all oaths must be kept. Perjury is to be punished according to the law of the Saxons. Public games and assemblies of the Saxons are forbidden unless allowed by the royal commissioner under royal command. But each count may hold pleas and administer justice in his own district and "let the priest see that justice is done." [1]

Additional capitularies were set forth in 797 at a council at which were assembled bishops, abbots, counts, and Saxons from the Westphalians, Angarians, and Eastphalians, meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle in October. Peace was declared for churches, widows, orphans, and weak persons. No one was to remain away from the army. The former laws against offences were repeated save that the penalty was changed from death to heavy fines. Refusal to go to the assembly was also punishable by fine, and injuries done to priests or their dependents were to be atoned for by double restitution. A threefold payment was to be made for killing a royal commis-

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 68–70, No. 26.

sioner. Punishments were also decreed against various offences, and in conclusion the value of the solidus was laid down in cattle and honey.[1] Thus these capitularies mark the establishment of the Frankish power and of the Christian church among the Saxons.

The earlier measures which Charles had used to subdue the Saxons had been neither harsh nor cruel. He wished to effect a recognition of his rule and the reception of Christianity, not the complete subjugation of the people nor the destruction of its individuality ; but he had no time to waste in waiting for the slow maturing of his plans, and he allowed no scruples to stand in the way of the immediate fulfilment of his purposes.

Finding the Saxons still resisting, still treacherous, in consequence of a new and sudden outbreak under their leader, Wittekind, he caused forty-five hundred of them to be put to the sword in one day. This was the massacre of Verden, in the year 782, and it has been called the one great blot on the memory of the great king. But even this was not enough ; and if his conquest of the Saxons was justifiable at all he knew better than any one else the means necessary to accomplish the result ; only it seems as if it would have been more in accordance with his Christian faith and the powers of the gospel, which he had at his disposal, had he employed the soldiers of the cross rather than the spears of his

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 71, 72, No. 27. The solidus was declared equal to a year-old calf of either sex. In silver, twelve pennies made a solidus, or shilling. It is estimated as worth about eighteen dollars in our money. Vêtault, p. 214.

army to bring the Saxons to submission to Christ and to a union with the Frankish kingdom.

Under Wittekind, the Saxon leader, who had never submitted to Charles, and who led the attack in 782 which was avenged by the massacre of Verden, the Saxons rose in revolt, renounced their Christianity and their oaths of allegiance, but in two great battles which followed speedily—the only two pitched battles of the war—they were thoroughly defeated ; although twenty long years of brutal violence and oppression passed before the end could come. The strife which here was waged has a most tragic interest. One cannot deny sympathy to this people who, with such devotion to their inherited order and independence, fought for the gods of their hearths and homes, while the Frankish king by his bloody deed chills the ardor which up to this point has attended him. But the higher justification of history is, after all, on his side. One must deplore the fact that here, as so often in the progress of earthly affairs, results can be obtained only by means of force. Yet there can be no doubt that the opposition of the Saxons had to be overcome ; their isolated independence must be broken if the German people were to experience a higher unified development. The chronicler concludes his account of the year 785 thus :

" The Saxons then surrendered, again received Christianity, which they had renounced just before ; peace was declared ; rebellion ceased ; and Charles returned to his home. It is said that Wittekind, the author of so much violence and the insti-

gator of the perfidy, came with his followers to the palace at Attigny and was there baptized, the king receiving him from the font and presenting him with magnificent gifts. From the death of Pope Gregory, who had begun the work of converting the Saxons by his mission to Britain, it had been one hundred and eighty years." [1]

The rest of the history of Wittekind is lost in legend and obscurity with the names of Roland and of Arthur.

Though conquered, the Saxons were not subdued; and baptisms, payment of tithes, and services in the royal army were enforced only with difficulty, the penalty of death being declared against all who refused to be baptized, did violence to the clergy, ate meat in Lent, relapsed into heathen customs, or robbed or burned a church.

Far in the North rebellion broke out anew in 792. Once more they renounced the Christianity which was still to them the badge of their hated subjection to the Franks. They burned their churches and drove off or put to death their priests. The revolt spread, and in 794 Charles prepared to meet it. With his son, Prince Charles, he led his whole army to the Saxon frontier, received again the submission, the hostages, and the oaths of the terrified Saxons. But on the banks of the Elbe the king's authority was still resisted. Here he commanded a complete devastation, and after putting thousands of warriors to the sword, he ordered the removal of

[1] "Ann. Lauriss," an. 785; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 32.

one third of the remaining male population—over seven thousand it is said.[1]

The next year saw the devastation carried still further, and yet the resistance was continued in the almost inaccessible region between the Weser and the Elbe; but Charles was not to be foiled in his purpose. Vessels were sent around by sea and others in sections transported over the land. Fire and the destruction of everything destructible followed. Now every third man, with his wife and children, here and in Friesland, was ordered into exile, and loyal Franks were put in their places.

It was at this time that the capitulary of 797 was put forth in which a much milder policy was observed, and the voice and influence of Alcuin seemed to avail. In a letter to the royal chamberlain, after instancing the manner and methods of St. Paul, he had written: "Let but the same pains be taken to preach the easy yoke and the light burden of Christ to the obstinate people of the Saxons as are taken to collect the tithes from them or to punish the least transgression of the laws imposed on them, and perhaps they would be found no longer to repel baptism with abhorrence."[2]

Winter was spent in the North, and the influence of example and Christian ways was added to the laws and precepts. But another revolt by the Northalbingians—the Saxons on the banks of the Weser—threatened to undo all that had been achieved. Again submission was forced at the

[1] "Ann. Alam.," an. 795; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 47.
[2] Ep. 37. Quoted by Neander, vol. iii., p. 77.

point of the sword and a new and larger deportation followed. In 804 the last blow was given to the dying cause of Saxon heathenism and independence. Charles went North with his family and a large army. The army, with the allies who joined him there, was divided into sections and sent into various districts of the enemy's territory. When they returned they left nothing behind them. Baptism by the priests or death by the soldiers was the only alternative, and the baptism of a few was purchased by the death of many. It has rightly been called the conversion of Saxony rather than of the Saxons. The men, women, and children who esaped the sword were driven out and scattered over the Frankish dominions. It is said that the blood of over two hundred thousand Saxons changed the very color of the soil, and the brown clay of earlier times gave way to the red earth of Westphalia. This ended the conquest and conversion of Saxony. What that conversion meant and what it was worth seems hardly an appreciable quantity, and perhaps amounted to nearly nothing after it was all over; but succeeding generations were to profit by that mighty struggle, for the Saxony which had come to Charles the Great only after such bloodshed and bitter agony, at the beginning of the ninth century, sent forth a Luther to defy a Charles the Fifth at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The missionary work closely connected with and depending upon the labors of the army deserves more careful attention. It is for this that Charles

has been called by one of the early writers "The Enlightener of the Saxons." Little could be done in the time of actual warfare except in a merely formal and mechanical way; but as fast as a district was conquered it was assigned for Christian oversight and culture to individual clergy, to an abbot, or bishop, or priest to carry on the preliminary work of preaching and baptizing. As soon as churches were organized they were brought into union with Frankish monasteries and bishoprics in order to insure their proper care, or else an abbey was put in charge of the missionary, that it might serve as a point of support or means of sustenance. With the progress of the conversion, however, native Saxons were consecrated bishops and special places selected for their sees. In this way Charles laid the foundations for Bremen, Werden, Münster, Paderborn, Osnabrück, and Minden, some of them being put under the Archbishop of Mainz and some under Cologne. A monastery was planned for Hamburg; and under Charles's successors the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Halberstadt were established.

In the last years of Charles's reign preaching and baptism were carried to all parts of the Saxon land, and under his successors they obtained complete control. With Christianity went a new and higher civilization, for men were attracted in large numbers and came to settle near these bishoprics and monasteries for safety and protection. Markets were established, roads built from one to another, and they soon became important centres of industry, trade, and civilization.

Foremost among the missionaries were Gregory of Utrecht, the abbot Sturm, both disciples and followers of Boniface ; Luidger, who succeeded Labuinus, and Willehad.

One of the earliest and most important missionaries among the people of the North was Gregory, known as the Abbot of Utrecht. The way in which he came under the influence of Boniface and entered upon the work of his life is exceedingly interesting and instructive. Boniface, on a journey from Friesland to Thuringia, stopped at the monastery of the abbess Addula, who was of a noble family. During the meal-time her grandson, Gregory, a boy of fourteen years, just out of school, acted as reader and read some passages from the Bible. Boniface praised him for reading so well, and asked him to translate it into his own language. This he was unable to do, and Boniface accordingly translated and explained the passages in a way that made a great impression upon the young boy. His desire to know Boniface better and to learn more from the great man led him to devote himself to the great work in which Boniface was engaged. The abbess, to whom Boniface was unknown at that time, tried to dissuade the boy, but without avail. He even declared that he would follow Boniface on foot if she would not give him a horse. She was forced to yield to his urgent entreaties ; and from that time on he was a devoted and constant companion to Boniface, in whose service and under whose inspiration he labored in Friesland until the death of his master.

The Bishop of Utrecht having been martyred with Boniface, Gregory took upon himself the whole care of the Friesland mission, under the direction of Pope Stephen and King Pippin. He refused the bishopric, however, and shortly afterwards became abbot of the monastery in Utrecht, to which were sent boys of English, Frankish, Bavarian, and Saxon birth, whose education Gregory supervised. He also founded a missionary school, from which missionaries went forth into different parts. To supply the want of a bishop, he was joined by Alubert, an Englishman, who had been consecrated bishop at home. Gregory lived to the age of over seventy, and died in 781 in the midst of his teachings and missionary labors.

The abbot Sturm was early consecrated to Christian service under the training of Boniface while the latter was organizing the church in Bavaria. After his ordination as priest he labored three years under the immediate direction of Boniface, and then went north with two companions to find a new centre of missionary labor in the wilderness. The foundations of the monastery of Hersfeld were laid, but Boniface regarded it as too exposed to the ravages of the Saxons. He accordingly started forth again, and this time founded Fulda, in which Boniface evinced a special interest and for which he procured special privileges from the pope, it being declared independent of episcopal jurisdiction and subject directly to the pope. Sturm then went to Italy to learn further details of his duty from the monasteries there, particularly from the original

Benedictine establishment at Monte Cassino. On his return he increased the number of monks to four thousand, and labored to reclaim both forests and heathens. Though driven away from time to time by the Saxons, he never despaired, and labored earnestly and successfully until his death at the close of the year 779.

Luidger, born of Christian parents, came under the influence and training of Gregory, Abbot of Utrecht, one of the early laborers in Friesland. From there he went to the school of Alcuin, already famous at York. Returning, he still continued to labor among the Friesians until, by the revolt of the Saxons under Wittekind, he and his clergy were driven away, their churches burned, and the idol temples restored. He then took advantage of the opportunity to go to Rome and to Monte Cassino to observe the methods there, and to gain further training and instruction.

Returning after three years, he found Wittekind converted and the country at peace. Charles assigned him to a special district among the Frieslanders, where he founded the monastery of Werden. After the conclusion of the Saxon war he was sent by Charles to the district of Münster, where he founded another monastery, later the bishopric of Münster. He journeyed constantly among the Saxons, preaching, baptizing, founding churches, and settling over them priests whom he himself had trained. His zeal would have carried him to the still wild and barbarous Normans, but Charles forbade it. In the midst of his labors, in the year 809, he died.

Willehad was a missionary who came from Northumberland. He also labored among the people of Friesland, near where Boniface had been martyred. His followers having attempted with inconsiderate zeal the immediate destruction of the heathen temples, he, with them, was seized and beaten and almost put to death by the sword. Hearing of his courage, zeal, and wonderful escapes, Charles assigned him the district of Bremen, which later became a bishopric among the Frieslanders and newly conquered Saxons. But the revolt of Wittekind in 782 drove him away, and he also took the opportunity to visit Rome. After his return and the conversion of Wittekind, the great Saxon leader, in 785, he carried his labors to success, and the diocese of Bremen was established in 787 with Willehad as its priest and bishop, but two years afterwards he died.

Thus these noble Christian missionaries labored, thus Christian teaching followed the progress of the sword of the Franks, and thus Charles the Great directed not only the victories of war, but the extension of Christianity and the establishment of the church.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LOMBARD MARRIAGES—REPUDIATION OF HIS LOMBARD WIFE BY CHARLES—POPE HADRIAN AND THE LOMBARD WAR—CONQUEST OF THE LOMBARDS—CHARLES ENTERS ROME—KING OF THE LOMBARDS—THE SECOND DONATION TO THE POPE—ADDITIONAL POWERS AS PATRICIAN—POPE LEO AND HIS ACCUSERS—THE OATH BEFORE CHARLES—CORONATION OF CHARLES.

T is necessary to know the main outlines of the conquest of the Saxons and the extension of the Frankish power over them in order to understand the spread of Christianity and the establishment of the Christian Church in the northern part of the kingdom. It is also necessary to know the outlines of the conquest of the Lombards in order to understand the relations of Charles with the papacy.

Desiderius, the Lombard king, by the marriages of his daughters, had allied himself to all the leading princes of his time. Tassilo, the son and successor of Odilo, duke of the Bavarians, had married one named Liutperga, Arichis, the Duke of Benevento,

another, Adelperga, and Charles and his brother Karlmann had married the other two, Desiderata and Gerberga.[1] Athalgis, the son of Desiderius, had married Gisla, the sister of the Frankish kings.

On hearing the news of this alliance of the Franks and Lombards the pope was filled with indignation and alarm. In view of such an alliance what would become of the newly established power of the papacy, the patrimony of St. Peter? The already threatened subjection of the pope to the Lombard king seemed inevitable. Stephen accordingly wrote at once to those whom he addresses as his "most excellent sons, Charles and Karlmann, kings of the Franks and patricians of the Romans." Their intention to marry the daughters of Desiderius he regards as a suggestion of the devil, and incidentally alludes to the garden of Eden. "It would be a most shameful connection and downright madness for the illustrious race of the Franks, which shines forth superior to all people, so splendid, so noble, and of regal power, to pollute itself with the perfidious race of the Lombards, leprous, vile, and not recognized among the races of men. No one with a sane mind would suspect for a moment that such renowned kings would defile themselves with such a despicable and abominable contagion." He reminds them of the beautiful wives they already had, most noble maidens of the Frankish race.[2] "Remember this, most excellent sons," he continues,

[1] "Chronic. Cassineus," bk. i., c. 17. See Mombert, p. 77, note 2.

[2] It is probable that these Frankish marriages had not taken place or that the wives had died.

" that our predecessor of sacred memory, Stephen the lord pope, implored your father of most excellent memory never to presume to put away his wife, your mother ; and he, as in truth a most Christian king, yielded obedience to these most salutary admonitions. Your excellency should remember that you have promised to the blessed Peter and to his aforesaid vicar and successors to be friends to our friends and enemies to our enemies. Why do you strive to act against your own souls in wishing to form a union with our enemies, even with that perjured race of the Lombards, ever fighting against the church of God and invading this, our province of the Romans, and thus proved to be our enemies? Know you not that it is not our unhappiness you despise, but the blessed Peter, whose unworthy vicars we are permitted to be? For it is written, ' He who receiveth you receiveth Me, and he who despiseth you despiseth Me,' wherefor also the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, to whom the Lord God has given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and to whom has been granted the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth, earnestly implores your excellency through our unhappiness, and at the same time also we, together with all the bishops, presbyters, and other priests, and all the officials and clergy of our holy church, and also the abbots and all those consecrated to the divine service in the religious life, as well as the nobles and judges, and all our people of the Romans of this province, beseech you with an appeal to the divine justice, by the living and true God, who is the judge of living

and of dead, by the ineffable power of His divine majesty, by the awful day of future judgment when we shall behold all the princes and powers of the whole human race standing with fear, as well as by the divine mysteries and by the most holy body of the blessed Peter, adjure you that in no way either of you presume to receive in marriage the daughter of the already mentioned Desiderius, king of the Lombards." [1]

Whether these words of the pope influenced him or not, within a year Charles divorced the daughter of Desiderius, sent her back to her father, and immediately after married a Suabian princess by the name of Hildegard, a woman of rare beauty, bright intellect and attractive grace, benevolent, devout, and beloved by all, worthy to be the wife of Charles and the mother of his children.

Mombert relates the following story, told by the monk of St. Gall. A certain young man, in whom the king took an interest, and whose hopes he had raised as to securing a vacant bishopric, happened to be with him at the hour set for the reception of courtiers. The king told him that he had many competitors for the vacancy, and bade him retire behind a curtain and learn their number. One by one the nobles came to secure the position, either for themselves or for some special favorite. At last Queen Hildegard appeared and asked it for her own chaplain. The king objected, protesting that although he would not and could not say nay to her in almost anything she might ask, yet in this case he

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 158–164; Ep. 47, 769 A.D.

must refuse, for he had promised the place to the young man. The queen, who was not free from the weakness of women of setting their influence against the judgment of men, suppressed her anger, but forthwith opened upon her susceptible spouse a battery of gentle speeches and languid looks, saying: "Oh, my lord king, why waste that bishopric upon such a boy? Let me entreat my sweet king, my glory, my tower of strength, to confer it upon your faithful servant, my own chaplain." The young man, from behind the curtain, saw and heard what was going on, dreaded the worst, and unable to contain himself, exclaimed: "Keep firm, O king, and let no one deprive you of the power which God has given you." The speech pleased Charles so much that for the time he disobliged the charmer and made the young man bishop.[1]

The repudiation of Desiderata roused the anger and resentment of her father, in which Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, and also Karlmann joined. The hostility between the two brothers revived, but in that same year (771) Karlmann died. His wife and her children went back to the Lombard court, and Charles reigned alone. In a letter from Cuthwulf, written to Charles about the year 775, it is declared that he is to be congratulated for eight things: First, that he is born of royal lineage; secondly, that he is the first born; thirdly, that he is delivered from the plots of his brother; fourthly, that he obtained the kingdom with his brother; fifthly,

[1] "Monach. Sangall.," bk. i., c. iv.; Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 633–635; Mombert, pp. 81, 82.

and not least, that God removed his brother from the throne and exalted him over the whole kingdom without bloodshed ; sixthly, the flight of the Lombard army before his face ; seventhly, the crossing of the Alps, the flight of his enemies, and the taking of the rich city of Pavia with all its treasures ; and eighthly, the entrance into golden and imperial Rome.[1]

In 772 a new pope, Hadrian I., succeeded to the pontificate. The way was now prepared for the development of more cordial relations and for a closer alliance between the king of all the Franks and the Bishop of Rome. Desiderius, however, tried to win the pope to his own side in an alliance against Charles, but did not succeed, though he made a strong appeal in behalf of the widow of Karlmann, who had fled to him with her children, and he even marched to Rome. Hadrian at once called for the removal of the leader of the Lombard party in Rome and appealed to Charles, informing him that the king of the Lombards had asked him to anoint the son of Karlmann as king to succeed his father, and, upon his refusal, had seized the cities of Taenza, Ferrara, and Comacchio. Charles responded by sending ambassadors to Desiderius demanding the return of these cities to the pope, and offering an indemnity for their restoration. Upon his refusal Charles declared war as the protector of the church, and started for Italy with a large army.[2]

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 336–338.
[2] "Ann. Einhardi," an. 773 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 151.

Desiderius shut himself up in Pavia, but his vassals and followers were sadly demoralized before the array of the Frankish army. The siege of Pavia lasted all winter, during which time town after town and lord after lord yielded to Charles. In the spring of the next year, 774, leaving the continuance of the siege to his followers, Charles accepted the invitation of the pope and entered Rome, the first of the Frankish kings to enter the imperial city, which, however, he visited four times.[1]

His reception was magnificent. The Senate and nobles went out to meet him, and at the request of Hadrian he appeared in the Roman costume, which he wore but twice in his life, the second time being in the memorable year of 800. His approach was a triumphal march. As he neared the gates he dismounted, and, followed by his officers, entered the city on foot, and ascended the steps of St. Peter's, kissing each step. At the top Hadrian, with his clergy, met him. They kissed each other, and, walking together, the king on the right of the pope, proceeded to the altar.

On the next day, Easter, April 3d, he received communion from the pope, and on Wednesday in Easter week he is reported to have confirmed the grant of territory made by his father to Pope Stephen, "increasing it by further donations in anticipation of the fruits of his victory," wrote the papal biographer, Anastasius.

Pavia surrendered June, 774, and Desiderius re-

[1] 774, 781, 787, and 800 A.D.; Einhard, "Vita Karoli," c. 27; Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 533.

tired to the monastery of Corbie. Athalgis fled to Constantinople, showing the alliance and common cause between the Lombard king and the emperor of the East, both of whom had been spoiled of their possessions and hopes of power by the pope. Charles enlarged his title to "King of the Franks and of the Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans."

For the first time the conquest of the Franks was not merged into the Frankish kingdom. Charles, yielding, it is said, to the suggestion of the pope, merely added the title of "Lombard King" to his own, and respected the integrity of the Lombard organization appearing as successor to Desiderius. The Duke of Spoleto had already, in 773, thrown himself into the arms of the pope, and only one duke, Arichis of Benevento, the son-in-law of Desiderius, refused to acknowledge the new king of the Lombards. The more complete and firmly established organization of the Lombard kingdom made it seem undesirable and inexpedient for him to attempt its absolute incorporation into the Frankish kingdom even if that were possible. Furthermore, the condition of affairs in his own kingdom prevented his staying longer in Italy; and summoned North by a fresh outbreak of the Saxons, he was unable to press his claims or to push his conquest further South.

The old Lombard constitution remained in force, Charles adding laws of his own as seemed necessary. The dukes were left, partly at any rate, with the powers they already had. Charles was satisfied

to be acknowledged by them as their king, and dukes and nobles did homage to him. To guard his rule he put a Frankish garrison in Pavia with Frankish officers, and appointed counts in single provinces, who there took the place of the early dukes; hostages were received also to guarantee the fidelity of the Lombards. After making generous gifts to various monasteries and to a hospital in Pavia, he left Italy in the last of July, and returned to continue the war against the Saxons. He made a special reckoning of the years of his reign in Italy, and in one of his capitularies speaks of the Lombard kings as "our predecessors, the kings of Italy."[1]

It is a mistake to affirm that Charles was crowned with the famous "iron crown of Lombardy," supposed to contain the true nails of the cross, for that crown does not appear to have been worn until the fourteenth century.[2]

Charles was in no haste to surrender the territory claimed by the papacy which he had just taken from the Lombards, and thus, as the pope declared, to fulfil the promise of his father, Pippin. The letter which Hadrian wrote to Charles in 778 is significant. He first expresses his regret that Charles and his queen had not presented themselves in Rome at Easter for the baptism of their newborn son.[3]

"We also," he continues, "implore your excellency, best-beloved son and illustrious king, for the

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 204, No. 98.
[2] Mombert, pp. 99, 100.
[3] Pippin, the second son, born in the previous year, 777.

love of God and of the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, who has deigned to bestow upon you the kingdom of your father, that you order all things to be fulfilled in our time according to the promise which you made to God's apostle for the salvation of your soul and the stability of your realm; that the church of Almighty God and of the blessed apostle Peter, to whom were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven and the power of binding and loosing, may continue to be exalted more and more, and that all things may be fulfilled according to your promise, and then to you will be ascribed reward in heavenly places and an excellent reputation in the whole world, and as in the time of the blessed Sylvester, pontiff of Rome, by the most pious emperor Constantine the Great, of sacred memory, through his generosity the holy Catholic and apostolic Roman Church was restored and exalted and endowed with power in these parts of the West, so also in these most fortunate times of yours and ours may the holy church of God—that is, of the blessed apostle Peter—grow and enlarge and be exalted more and more, so that all people who hear of this may say, 'O Lord, save the king and hear us when we call upon Thee!'[1] for lo! our modern Constantine, most Christian emperor of God's appointment, in these times has risen up, by whom God has deigned to increase the possessions of his holy church, the church of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles. Besides, let all other lands which, by various emperors, patricians, and others fearing

[1] Ps. xviii. 10.

God for the salvation of their souls and for the pardon of their sins, in parts of Tuscany, Spoleto, Benevento, Corsica, and in the Sabine patrimony, have been granted to the blessed apostle Peter and to the holy and apostolic Roman Church and by the execrable race of the Lombards in the course of years have been seized and carried off, now in your time be restored. Of which also we have many deeds of donation laid up in our sacred archives of the Lateran, which we have directed to be shown to you."[1]

This is especially noteworthy as being the first reference to the Forged Donation, but beyond the fact that the church owned large estates in Spoleto, Tuscany, Sabina, and Ravenna, to which undoubtedly Charles made important additions, nothing can be maintained with any certainty. It is to be noticed also that the greater number of the papal letters have little or nothing to do with the spiritual and moral advancement of the church and the spread of Christianity, for which Charles and his bishops and other clergy were doing so much, but are filled with expressions of the papal longing for temporal possessions and the dread or complaint of their loss. The advancement of the church is synonymous with the increase of its temporal power and territorial aggrandizement, while spiritual welfare and salvation are made the reward for gifts of territory and of dominion. The relations of Charles with the pope were purely political, and the place which the Bishop of Rome occupied seemed to be

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 199, 200; Ep. 61, 778 A.D.

that of a temporal prince with supernatural powers. It is not to Rome, but to the Frankish bishops and clergy that we look for the ecclesiastical and spiritual interests of Charles and of his realm. The times of Gregory and Augustine, and even the times of Zacharias and Boniface, have passed, and it will be long before they come again. The biographer of Hadrian describes most minutely and at great length the visit of Charles to Rome, which he says was at first a great surprise to the pope. The care, however, with which he enters into every detail, and the elaborate ceremonies carried on on that occasion, show with what importance it was regarded at Rome. The solemn oath on each side, to which afterwards reference was frequently made, was of the utmost significance, and from this time the claims of the pope for the delivery and surer possession of the territories already granted by Pippin, and now confirmed by Charles to the blessed Peter, are the principal object of the correspondence between the pope and the king.

In view of the evidence adduced it can hardly be denied that Charles gave the promise of a gift which was essentially a repetition of his father's, and that he made an offering of this kind at the tomb of St. Peter. Of this the pope most diligently reminded him in every letter of their correspondence. It is also quite certain that Charles about this time restored to the Roman see a number of cities, lands, and castles which the Lombards had seized, but the exact details cannot be known; even the papal biographer does not give the exact words, and it is

probable that the boundary definitions are the interpolation of later times.[1] The gain for the papal see under these conditions was not very great. Charles probably would not have made his promise of donation if the pope had not been able to appeal to the precedent established by his father. He himself showed through his whole later action that the restoration of the territory to the Roman see, which the pope demanded, did not lie very close to his heart, and the fulfilment of such a promise depended upon conditions which made it easy to defer if not to evade it. Had he earnestly determined to restore to the pope possession of all those lands, undoubtedly he could have accomplished it ; and that this did not happen, while not proving that he would break his promise, shows that he had little interest in it.

The position of Charles as patrician of Rome throws much light on his relations with the papal see. Stephen III. had called Pippin and his son to the patriciate of Rome as a sort of military protectorship and honorary chieftainship over the church and her interests, but naturally without dependence on the emperor, since the pope and not the emperor had named them patricians.

It was not for the interest of the pope, however, to use this title very generally, since it carried with it an idea of rule and of governorship. It was to lay upon the Carolingians obligations rather than to confer upon them rights and privileges. Ever

[1] Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 180–182 ; 218–220 ; Abel-Simson, vol. i., pp. 156–170.

since the journey of Charles to Italy a change had come, not so much on account of his Easter visit to Rome, but in consequence of the complete ruin of the Lombard kingdom. He had now added to the honorary dignity of the patriciate the actual power of the Lombard king. He would realize the duties and rights of his patriciate ; but now, not in the name of the emperor, or even in that of the pope, but in his own, and he succeeded practically to the place of the emperor both in Roman and in Grecian Italy. On these relations depended the greater difficulties in the way of carrying out the donations. Even in the territories whose possession the pope really gained the rights of his sway were not uncontested. In no part of the possessions of the church was he wholly independent ; everywhere the Frankish king had certain rights, though nothing definite had been determined as to the limits of those rights on either side. It happened, in consequence of this lack of definiteness, that the relations of the pope with the royal officers, and often with the king himself, led frequently to sharp discussions, from which it sometimes resulted that in all the lands of the church the supremacy belonged not to the pope, but to the Frankish king.[1] In this respect there was no difference between the exarchate and the other possessions of the pope where Charles exercised the right of supremacy.[2] Here too he showed quite

[1] Waitz, vol. iii., p. 181, note 2 ; Abel-Simson, vol. i., p. 174 and note 1 ; Döllinger, "Charles the Great," pp. 103–108.

[2] Döllinger, "Charles the Great," p. 104, note 2. Citing the affair of Archbishop Martin as a case in point ; Abel-Simson, vol. i., pp. 212–214.

distinctly how slight was his zeal for the spread of church territory, for he allowed the exarchate to fall quite completely into the possession of the Archbishop of Ravenna, and for several years it was withheld by him from the pope. Charles was now recognized as the supreme ruler in all the territories of the church. For him prayer was offered in Hadrian's ritual in the Roman Church, as throughout the whole Frankish kingdom.[1] The people in papal territory must swear fidelity to him as well as to the pope,[2] and long before his coronation as emperor the Romans in Italy were regarded as his vassals and Rome itself as a city of his kingdom.[3] When Hadrian died in 795 and Leo was elected in his place, he transmitted, as once already had his predecessor, Stephen, to Charles Martel, the keys of the tomb of St. Peter and the banner of the city, joining with it the request that the king would send one of his nobles to bind by oath the Roman people in fidelity and submission to him.[4]

Nor can there be any doubt that Charles claimed true royal rights in Rome, and that Leo completely recognized them.[5] He was the first of the popes who dated his public acts with the years of Charles's reign.

Oppressed by an opposing party in the city, who charged him with heinous crimes, seized, maltreat-

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 205 ; Ep. 64, 774–780 A.D.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[3] Döllinger, "Charles the Great," p. 105, referring to Paulus.
[4] Jaffé, vol. iv. p. 187 ; Ep. 56, 775 A.D.; Abel-Simson, vol. i., p. 175.
[5] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 354 ; Ep. Car., 10, 796 A.D.

ed, and wounded, Leo, in 799, fled to Charles, whom he found in far-off Saxony. Officers of the king escorted him back to Rome, held a trial of his oppressors, and sent them into exile beyond the Alps.[1] And when, a year later, Charles himself came to Rome, the pope cleared himself from the charge with an oath in his presence. The following account is given by the papal biographer :

" After a little while the great king himself came to the church of St. Peter, and was received with great honor. He then called together the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and all the nobility of the Franks and the equally illustrious men of the Romans, and the great king and the most blessed pontiff sitting together, made the archbishops, bishops, and abbots sit near them, while the others, the priests and nobles, stood, that they might render a decision regarding the crimes charged against the pope. All declared : ' We do not dare to judge the apostolic see, which is the head of all the churches of God, for we all are judged by it and by its vicar ; but it is judged by no one according to the ancient custom. As the chief pontiffs so have decreed, we canonically obey.' But the venerable head of the church said, ' I follow the precedents of my predecessors, and from such false incrimination as they have wickedly charged upon me I am ready to purge myself.' " [2]

The oath is as follows : " Wherefore I, Leo,

[1] "Ann. Lauresh.," an. 799 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 37 ; "Ann. Laur. Maj. and Einhardi," an. 799; M. G. SS., vol. i., pp. 184–187.
[2] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. ii., p. 7, c. 21.

pontiff of the whole Roman Church, judged by no one, neither forced by any, but of my own free will, do purify and purge myself in your sight, and before God and his angels, who know my conscience, and the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, in whose church we are, that I have neither perpetrated nor ordered to be done those criminal and wicked acts which they charge against me. God is my witness, to whose judgment-seat we all must come, and in whose sight we all just stand. And this I do of my own free will, on account of the suspicions raised against me ; not as though it were laid down in the canons, nor so as to bind this custom or decree upon my successors in the holy church, or upon my brethren and fellow-bishops." [1]

The papal biographer continues : " But on the next day, in the same church of St. Peter, all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and all the Franks who were in the service of the great king, and all the Roman people being assembled, in their presence the venerable pontiff embraced the four holy gospels of Christ, and before them all ascended to the pulpit and, under oath, said, with a clear voice : ' Indeed, of those false crimes with which the Romans have accused me, who have unjustly persecuted me, I have no knowledge, and I deny that I have done such things.' All then joined in a litany of praise to God, to the Virgin Mary, to St. Peter, and to all the saints. After these things, the day of the birth of Christ arriving, they were all in the same church again, and then the venerable and

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 378 ; Ep. Car., 20, A.D. 800.

beneficent pontiff with his own hand crowned him with the most precious crown. Then all the faithful Romans, seeing what great care and love he had for the holy Roman Church and its vicar, unanimously, with a loud voice, by the will of God and of the blessed Peter, key-bearer of heaven, exclaimed: 'To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor, life and victory!' Before the sacred tomb of the blessed apostle Peter, invoking many saints, it was thrice said, and he was constituted by all emperor of the Romans. There also the most holy chief and pontiff anointed with holy oil Charles, his most excellent son, as king on the same day,[1] and Mass being ended, the most serene lord emperor offered a silver table, and at the tomb of St. Peter, with his sons and daughters, vases of pure gold and other gifts." [2]

[1] Charles had been raised to the kingship in 788, and had received from his father a kingdom in Neustria in 789. Abel-Simson, vol. ii., pp. 6, 7.

[2] "Lib. Pontif.," vol. ii., pp. 7 ff., c. 22–25.

CHAPTER XX.

FRANKISH ACCOUNTS OF THE CORONATION—THE ACT OF THE POPE—THREE THEORIES—THE ATTITUDE OF CHARLES — RELATIONS WITH CONSTANTINOPLE—RENEWAL AND TRANSFER —TWO EMPERORS AND TWO EMPIRES—IDEA OF A WORLD EMPIRE IN UNION WITH THE CHURCH.

OF the personal action of the pope in the coronation of Charles the Great, two different accounts are given, the Frankish and the papal, but these two accounts vary in so many important particulars that they cannot be combined. One must be right and the other wrong, and from internal evidence the Frankish seems more entitled to credence. The papal account was given at the close of the preceding chapter.

The fullest account from Frankish sources is given in the Chronicle of Moissac, and is as follows: "Now on the most holy day of the Lord's birth,[1] while the king was at mass, upon rising after prayer before the tomb of the blessed Apostle Peter,

[1] Friday, Dec. 25, 800 A.D.

Pope Leo, with the consent of all the bishops and priests and of the chief men of the Franks and likewise of the Romans, set a golden crown upon his head, while the Roman people shouted aloud: 'To Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and peace-giving emperor of the Romans, Life and Victory!' After hymns of praise had been sung by the people, he received the adoration of the pope,[1] after the apostolic manner of the ancient emperors, since this also was done by the will of God. For while the emperor was at Rome, certain men were brought to him saying that the name of the emperor had ceased among the Greeks, and a woman held imperial rule among them, Irene by name, who had caused her son, the emperor, to be seized by treachery, and had put out his eyes and usurped for herself the imperial rule, as it is written of Athaliah in the Book of Kings. When they heard of this, Leo the pope, with all the assembly of the bishops, priests, and abbots, the senate of the Franks, and all the elders of the Romans, with the rest of the Christian people, held a council, and decided that they ought to give to Charles, the king of the Franks, the name of emperor, inasmuch as he held Rome, the mother of the empire, where the Cæsars and the emperors always used to sit, and lest the heathens should mock the Christians if the name of emperor had ceased among them."[2] The other account declares that Charles held Rome itself and

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 801; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 189.
[2] "Chronic. Moiss.," an. 801 (for 800); M. G. SS., vol. i., pp. 505, 506.

all the other regions which he ruled throughout Italy, Gaul, and Germany, and because the Almighty God had given all these lands into his power, so it seemed best to the council that, with the help of God and at the prayer of the whole Christian people, he should take the name of emperor. Whose petition King Charles was himself unwilling to refuse, but with all humility submitted himself to God, and at the petition of the priests and all the Christian people, on the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ took upon himself the name of emperor, being consecrated by the lord Pope Leo.[1]

The noteworthy differences between these various accounts relate to the charges against the pope and his justification of himself before Charles, to the assemblies, consultations, formal petitions, and final decisions preceding the coronation itself, and to the fact that the papal account makes no mention of the adoration of the emperor by the pope according to the ancient custom, an important and undoubtedly a real feature of the coronation and one not unsuited to the occasion.[2] A pope had already prostrated himself before Pippin, and the intervention of Charles was greatly needed by Pope Leo at this time. Bryce is right, however, in calling attention to the absence of anything showing a strictly legal character.

"The Frankish king does not of his own might seize the crown, but rather receives it as coming naturally to him, as the legitimate consequence of

[1] "Ann. Lauresh.," an. 801; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 38.
[2] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 801; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 189.

the authority he already enjoyed. The pope bestows the crown, not in virtue of any right of his own as head of the church; he is merely the instrument of God's providence, which has unmistakably pointed out Charles as the proper person to defend and lead the Christian commonwealth. The Roman people do not formally elect and appoint, but by their applause accept the chief who is presented to them. He came as conceived of, as directly ordered by the Divine Providence which has brought about a state of things that admits of but one issue—an issue which king, priest, and people have only to recognize and obey—their personal ambitions, passions, intrigues, sinking and vanishing in reverential awe at what seems the immediate interposition of Heaven. And as the result is desired by all parties alike, they do not think of inquiring into one another's rights, but take their momentary harmony to be natural and necessary, never dreaming of the difficulties and conflicts which were to arise out of what seemed then so simple. And it was just because everything was thus left undetermined, not resting on express stipulations, but rather on a sort of mutual understanding and sympathy of beliefs and wishes which augured no evil, that the event admitted of being afterwards represented in so many different lights." [1]

It was only later in the bitter struggle between the Hohenstaufen emperors and the papacy that each party sought to find in the coronation of Charles a precedent for the rights which he claimed.

[1] Bryce, pp. 56, 57.

The circumstances thus show that there must have been some preparation for the event. Negotiations for the union between the powers of East and West had already taken place, and at one time Rothrud, the eldest daughter of Charles, had been betrothed at the age of eight to Constantine, the youthful emperor ten years of age, but this betrothal came to nothing, though there was a rumor that Charles himself was to marry the mother of the emperor. Irene then determined to seize the imperial power, and, as we have seen, blinded her son and usurped his throne. Frankish nobles or Romans and the pope became impatient, desiring to establish their independence of the empire of Constantinople which all of them had practically realized. It is quite probable that the coronation was discussed by Charles and the pope at the latter's visit to Paderborn in 799, and also probably with Hadrian, Pope Leo's predecessor, yet Einhard positively declares that the coronation came as a great surprise to Charles, and he asserts that at the first Charles had such an aversion to the titles of Emperor and Augustus, "that he declared that he would not have set foot in the church the day they were conferred, although it was a great feast-day, could he have foreseen the design of the pope." [1] This statement cannot be explained away as an affectation or a fiction. The apparent contradiction can be explained by the fact that the surprise and objection felt by

[1] Einhard, "Vita Karoli," c. 28; "Poeta Saxo," bk. v., verses 527-534; Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 533, 662. Confirmed by "Ann. Max," an. 801; Abel-Simson, vol. ii., p. 239.

Charles were due to the time and manner of the act rather than to the act itself. The action of the pope was too precipitate. Charles, not wishing to antagonize the Greeks, probably had not given full consent to the plan, although he may have discussed it, nor had he made the final preparations for it. Yet ten of the chief dignitaries of the realm, two archbishops, five bishops, and three counts, whom he had sent as royal envoys to escort the pope back to Rome, had been in Rome for over a year, and must have been present at the deliberations and the council where it was planned. Also it is probable that Charles did not altogether like the self-appointed position assumed by the pope in adding to the religious ceremony of anointing with the holy oil, the actual placing of the golden crown upon his head, implying, as it did, political rights and superiority. At any rate, it is significant that when the crown was bestowed upon Louis the Pious, in whose reign Einhard wrote, Charles directed his son to take it from the altar and place it on his own head.[1] It was on this account that he allowed himself to be crowned by the pope in 816, when, after the death of Charles, he reigned alone.[2] The truth was, the pope needed Charles as an emperor even more than Charles needed the imperial title. Leo had already recognized him as overlord four years before, and realized that the coronation would make him even more the protector of the church, and would identify him more closely with her interests.

[1] Thegan, "De Gestis Ludow. Pii," c. 6.
[2] Cf. Mombert, p. 365.

There is little or no evidence of any serious thoughts in regard to the attitude and position which the East might take. Its real power ir Italy had long since passed away, and beyond a few possessions in the south it had no place. The contests and confusions in Italy had made the imperial crown of special value and significance to Charles in his endeavors to restore order and to establish a strong central authority. Furthermore, the weakness of the East was a disgrace to the church, and thus the pope had already ceased to mention the regnal years of the emperor in dating his edicts and decrees. The Council of Nice, which met in 787, and declared against the iconoclasts and in favor of image worship, had aroused the objection of Charles, and the Caroline books, issued just after the council which Charles held at Frankfort in 794, had been his reply, and he had even called upon Hadrian to denounce the emperor as a heretic. Hadrian had answered that he would summon the imperial court at Constantinople to surrender to the Roman See the patrimony of the jurisdiction of the Illyrian diocese, and that if this was refused, he would then condemn the emperor as a heretic.[1] This is why in the coronation of Charles little consideration was paid to the Roman emperor in the East, though probably the hesitation of Charles was due to his desire to make an amicable arrangement with the court of Constantinople before taking the final step.

Charles was recognized already as lord of Rome, and Alcuin said, in 799, "Rome belongs by right

[1] Mansi, vol. xiii., p. 759; Jaffé, vol. vi., p. 248; Alc. Ep. 33.

of possession to the king; she is the true head of the body of his realm;" and in a tribute to the good fortune and brilliant personal qualities of Charles himself, Alcuin declared that Charles excelled both pope and emperor in might, in wisdom, and in royal dignity.[1]

Charles had outgrown his position as king of the Franks, and was already in reality the emperor, though without the title, for, with the exception of Britain, Spain, and Northern Africa, all of the imperial possessions of old Rome owned his sway, while he had extended the ancient boundaries far to the north beyond the Danube and the Rhine, nor had he merely enlarged his territory. Rome humiliated, ill-used, and degraded to the ignoble rôle of a distant provincial town, was quite ready to welcome an emperor of her own, and thus to hold again her old position of mistress of the nations and ruler of the world.

The relation of the newly created empire to the East was more difficult to determine, and the question as to whether one or two empires resulted still vexes historians. The coronation of Charles carried with it a revival and renewal of the imperial power of Rome, and the restoration of the empire was represented on a leaden seal, the reverse bearing Charles's portrait and the words, "Our lord Charles the pious, happy and ever Augustus," the obverse the gate of a city between two towers surmounted by a cross, below which was the word "Rome," and around it the inscription, "The Revival (*Reno-*

[1] Jaffé, vol. vi., Alcuini Epist., No. 114.

vatio) of the Roman Empire." It has been said that this was effected without creating two Roman empires, and in a sense this is true. The imperial throne at Constantinople was vacant, only a woman occupied the place, and this was presented as one of the reasons for Charles's coronation, as stated by the chronicles. Undoubtedly Charles would have wished to have made some arrangements with the imperial power at Constantinople before taking the imperial crown, but that had been impossible. On the authority of an Eastern chronicler, Theophanes, we learn that he did propose marriage to Irene, but the plan was opposed by her chief minister, Ætius, and a short time afterwards a conspiracy placed the imperial treasurer, Nicephorus, on the throne.[1]

In a sense also there was unquestionably a transfer of the imperial power from Constantinople to Rome, and this transfer did result ultimately in the existence of two empires, for beyond this plan of Charles, in regard to the marriage to Irene, there was no attempt or thought to conquer or absorb the East; and when the new emperor was crowned at Constantinople, Charles tried to gain his acknowledgment.[2] It must have been felt that the imperial power over Rome, which had been held by the Roman emperor at Constantinople ever since the

[1] Döllinger, "Charles the Great," p. 133.

[2] In the annals of the time Charles is called the sixty-eighth emperor, Constantine VI. the sixty-seventh. Brice, p. 63. When Rudolph of Hapsburg confirmed the papal possessions in Italy to the pope, one of the reasons given was that the Holy See had transferred the empire to the Germans from the Greeks. "Cod. Epist. Rudulphi," vol. i., p. 80; quoted by Lea, p. 38, note 3.

sixth century, was restored now to the West, and that henceforth in the strictest Western sense the rulers at Constantinople were no longer Roman emperors. There was unquestionably also a recognition on both sides, not only of two emperors, but of two empires. Einhard in his annals tells us that, in the year 812, the Emperor Nicephorus died in battle, and his son-in-law Michael, having succeeded him upon the imperial throne, received at Constantinople deputies sent to Michael by the Emperor Charles, and sent them away with an embassy of his own to confirm the treaty of peace, for which negotiations had been begun with Nicephorus. In a letter written in 811 by "Charles I., Emperor to Nicephorus, Emperor of the Greeks," as the title reads, he addresses him as his brother, and seeks to gain his recognition.[1]

In a letter, in 813, written to Michael, he addresses him as follows: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Charles by divine grace, emperor and Augustus, and likewise king of the Franks and Lombards, to his beloved and honorable brother Michael, glorious emperor and Augustus, eternal salvation in Our Lord Jesus Christ," while in the very beginning of this letter he expresses his gratitude that by divine favor, "in our own days the thing sought and forever desired, peace between the Eastern and Western Empire, has been established."[2] This shows very clearly the view which was held by Charles in

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 393–396; Ep. Carol. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 415, 416; Ep. Carol. 40.

regard to the condition of affairs and the relation between Rome and Constantinople. In 812 the ambassadors of the Eastern Empire addressed Charles as "emperor" in the church at Aix-la-Chapelle, and years afterwards when, in the twelfth century, the rivalry between the two once more broke out, Isaac of Constantinople addressed Frederick as "most generous emperor of Germany," and in another letter uses this form, "Isaac, faithful in Christ, divinely crowned, sublime, potent, highly exalted, heir to the crown of Constantine the Great, Romaic (*Romeon*) moderator and angel, to the most noble emperor of ancient Rome, king of Germany, and beloved brother in his imperial rule, greeting."[1]

Charles intended immediately after his coronation to make a conquest of Sicily in order to save it from the Saracens, but he gave up this plan in order to purchase peace with Constantinople, and in 837 Sicily passed under the Moslem control. After years of opposing differences and long discussions an agreement came about, which left to the Greeks Venetia and Dalmatia and the possessions belonging to them in southern Italy, while Charles gained recognition as emperor. Thus the Roman Empire dissolved partnership with the East, and restricted its rights to the West, where it revived its ancient rule.[2]

The pope, regarded as the representative of the empire and of Romanism, and surely as the head of Latin nationality, and still more as the recognized spiritual overseer of the Christian republic, possessed

[1] Bryce, p. 192, note 1.
[2] Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 200, 201.

the power of accomplishing that revolution, which without the aid of the church would have been impossible, and gave a visible guarantee of that divine sanction which was needed to justify the event. Perhaps Charles, as well as Leo, did believe in the possibility of preserving the indivisibility of the empire like that of the church, but the continuance of the imperial line at Constantinople, after the brief vacancy following the death of Constantine VI., rendered futile any such hopes. With the history, the traditions, and the name of Rome there was unquestionably revived the idea of a world empire, such as had ever been bound up with the Roman name, and its realization was sought, at least as far as it might be realized, among all the people and in all the states in the West—that is, in Europe.

Thus the union with the church made its influence felt, and thus the church imparted to the empire something of its character and aims and purposes, that just as the church had the task, and must ever strive to extend its sphere by the spread of Christianity among people as yet unconverted, so the rule of the emperor received therefrom the prospect of a wider expansion, without regard to the earlier limits of the ancient empire, but coextensive with the church. This gave it new relations and new tasks, though with distinctly German characteristics. The empire was called Roman, but it was really a Christian Germanic power. It was the final result of that development which began with the wandering of the German tribes and their extension over the Roman provinces, and which had

carried with it their conversion to Christianity, their reception into the Christian church, and had now placed their foremost leader on the imperial throne of Christian Rome. All the power and dominions hitherto obtained by the Frankish kings were now added to the empire.

CHAPTER XXI.

THEORIES UNDERLYING THE CORONATION—CLOSER RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY—THE OLD TESTAMENT IDEAL—AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD—THE GENERAL ADMONITION—SECULAR AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION—THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN—DOWNFALL OF THE DUKE OF THE BAVARIANS—SUBMISSION OF THE DUKE OF BENEVENTO—THE CONQUEST OF THE AVARS.

HE coronation of Charles by the pope brought the new emperor into closer and more intimate relations with the papacy, though conferring upon him no additional rights, but now once for all the relationship with the East was finally broken, and all the connections which had existed between the church and the emperor from the time of Constantine the Great to Constantine VI. were transferred to Charles the Great. As to the source from which he derived his imperial authority it is not easy to say, though it is impossible to go as far as Waitz goes in affirming that "neither the coronation by the pope nor the salutation by the people could have conferred any formal right on the new emperor, and that the right

of Charles lay in the might of the deeds which had brought about this elevation to which the voice of the people had given only a recognition and some definite expression.[1] Unquestionably the imperial dignity would never have been conferred upon Charles had it not been for his wonderful successes within the kingdom, and in his conquests beyond its boundaries, especially over the Lombards, and the consequent need of some strong established civil power in Italy for the protection of the papacy and its rights, as well as for the maintenance of peace and order.

As for the justification of the act, it is not far to seek. The Greeks had degraded the imperial dignity and allowed it to fall into the blood-stained hands of a woman, and the Romans, failing to receive any protection from the East, had resumed their ancient right of election. Thus the imperial authority in the West had been transferred to the leader of the Franks, because he was the master of the city which was the capital of the empire, and exercised a truly imperial rule. It is significant that Theophanes, the only Byzantine contemporary who mentions the occurrence, has omitted any reference to the election and consent of the people. "It is hardly necessary to observe," says Bury in a very important passage, "that the election of the new Roman emperor, if it was not legally defensible, was yet as thoroughly justifiable by the actual history of the two preceding centuries, as it has been justified by the history of the ten suc-

[1] Waitz, vol. iii., pp. 195, 196.

ceeding centuries. For the popes had practically assumed in the West the functions and the position of the emperor. It was around them and their bishops that the municipalities rallied in a series of continual struggles with the Lombards. The presence of the emperor's delegates in Italy was becoming every year less effectual. It was the pope who organized missionary enterprises to convert the heathen in the West, just as it was the emperor who furthered similar enterprises in the East. Gregory I., in spite of the respectful tone of his letters to Maurice and Phocas, was the civil potentate in Italy. The mere fact that the pope was the largest landed proprietor in Roman Italy concurred to give him an almost monarchical position. As the virtual sovereign then of Italy as far as it was Roman—for even in the day of the exarchs he had often been its sovereign more truly than the exarch or the emperor —and as the bearer of the idea of the Roman Empire with all its traditions of civilization, the pope had a right, by the standard of justice, to transfer the representation of the ideas whereof he was the keeper to one who was able to realize them."[1] He had accomplished by peaceful measures that which nations are able to effect sometimes only by bloody revolutions.

Yet Charles relied upon neither the coronation by the pope nor the election by the people, nor did he make Rome the capital of his empire nor recognize in the Roman people in the future any right to dispose of the imperial dignity,

[1] Bury, vol. ii., pp. 508, 509.

nor did he conceive of the imperial authority as if in the future it depended on the consecration of the pope. He visited Rome only four times during his reign, and his stay was always short, for he had no residence there, and was only the guest of the pope in the Lateran. Louis, his son and successor, never went there, and Lothair was the next to receive the imperial crown in Rome. On the death of Louis II. without issue a contest for the imperial dignity arose, and was settled only by an appeal to the pope. Pope John VIII., taking advantage of the circumstances, offered the crown to Charles the Bold, and, his invitation being accepted, the pope appeared once more as the supreme authority in naming and crowning the emperor. Thus the second Charles was crowned by the pope in Rome on Christmas Day, 875. He was obliged, however, to renounce formally all claims over the States of the Church, as the papal possessions in Italy were called. After this the pontifical coronation was considered necessary and decisive in case of contesting claims, and after the creation of the Holy Roman Empire by Otto I., in 962, it was inseparably connected with the title of emperor.

At this first coronation of Charles the Great, however, the pope had merely to confirm and to give religious recognition to that power which, so far as it was exercised, existed independently of him—indeed to which he himself, together with Rome and all his possessions, was subject. Charles had been the first to make use of the title of "patrician," although it had been bestowed in the first place upon his father, but

the name of "patrician" now disappeared or was swallowed up in the larger and more comprehensive title of "emperor," giving a more settled character and a firmer basis to the rights which he had already exercised not only as patrician, but as conqueror of Italy and king of the Lombards. Rome belonged to the empire. The pope was a bishop belonging to it as others did, though of higher rank and authority, and in many respects in a peculiar position, but still bound to the emperor, to whom Leo speaks of his service due, which he and the people of the city recognized by the usual oath of fidelity. This is shown by the very necessity which seems to have been the immediate cause of the coronation of itself, the persecution inflicted upon Leo by his enemies, which drove him from Rome and led him to seek for protection and support at the feet of Charles, to whom both he and the nobles of the city referred the case for judgment, constituted Charles as a tribunal to try the case, and formed a basis for that recognition of the supremacy of the civil power which seemed so essential to the maintenance of the papacy.[1] Now more than ever Charles stood forth as the protector and supporter of the church, the secular head, just as the pope was the spiritual head, and the acts of Charles were an increasing realization of this great fact, although they had been manifested in the preceding years of his reign, particularly after the conquest of the Lombards and the peculiarly intimate relations with the pope which that event brought about.

[1] "Ann. Lauresh.," an. 800; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 38.

On many occasions, not only in his capitularies and in the great missionary work which he encouraged and sustained, in his recognition of the church in political as well as in religious life, but also in his conversation, he showed a deep and reverent appreciation of the high religious position to which he was called as head of the united kingdoms of the West and the patron and protector of the church and of Christianity. He might well be called by the pope a second Constantine the Great, not on account of his donations of land and of temporal wealth, but rather on account of the devotion of his heart and the consecration of all the forces of his being to that great work which he accomplished for the church in the West at a most critical period of its existence. Nor was this attitude of mind and soul without its cause.

Among the Christian Fathers known and studied at his time, especially by Alcuin and in the palace school, were the writings of St. Augustine, of which Charles was especially fond, never tiring of hearing them read. "While at table," Einhard tells us, "he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the readings were the stories and deeds of olden time; he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled the 'City of God.'"[1]

The magnificent ideal presented in this, one of the grandest and noblest treatises in all theology and politics, seems to have had the strongest influence upon his own ideas, and held before that new, fresh genius of the West, just rising out of barbar-

[1] Einhard, "Vita," c. 24.

ism, the highest standard which the ancient world of Rome and the noblest truths of Christianity could create. "Would to God," he is reported to have said, "I had twelve such men as St. Augustine!" to which Alcuin significantly replied, "The Creator of heaven and earth was content with one."[1] Perhaps one of the finest evidences of this spirit and ideal are presented in the General Admonition, as it is called, set forth in the form of a capitulary in the assembly of 798, many of the passages of which will well repay quotation.

"In the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, who ruleth forever, I, Charles, by the grace of God and by the favor of his mercy, king and ruler of the kingdom of the Franks, and the devoted defender and humble helper of the holy church, to all ranks of ecclesiastical piety and dignities of secular power the salutation of perpetual peace and blessedness in Christ our Lord, the God eternal. Regarding with the peaceful consideration of a pious mind, together with our priests and counsellors, the abundant clemency of Christ our King towards us and towards our people, and how needful it is not only with the whole heart and mouth to return thanks continually for his compassion, but also by a constant exercise of good works to show forth his praise, so that he who has conferred such great honor upon our realm may deign by his protection to preserve us and our kingdom forever. Wherefore it has pleased us to ask your ability, O pastors of the Church of Christ and leaders of his flock, most shining lights of the

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 639; "Mon. Sangall.," bk. i, c. x.

world, that by your watchful care and zealous admonition you strive earnestly to lead God's people to the pastures of eternal life, and to bring back the erring sheep to safety within the strong walls of the church, in the arms of your good examples and exhortations, lest the treacherous wolf finding any outside devour one who transgresses the canonical sanctions or goes beyond the paternal traditions of the universal councils. So by the great zeal of your devotion admonishing and exhorting them, they must be compelled at once to remain within the paternal sanctions with a firm faith and steadfast perseverance ; in which labor and zeal let your holiness most surely know that our diligence will co-operate with yours. Wherefore we have sent to you our commissioners (*missi*), who by the authority of our name will with you correct all that needs correction. Moreover, we subjoin also some capitularies from the canonical institutions[1] which seem to us to be most necessary. Let no one, I ask, judge this pious admonition to be presumptuous whereby we desire to correct what is in error, to do away with what is superfluous and to strengthen that which is right, but let him receive it with a favorable and charitable disposition ; for we read in the Books of the Kings how the holy Josiah, going about the kingdom given to him by God, correcting and admonishing, strove to recall the people to the worship of the true God ; not that I can make myself his equal in holiness, but that we must ever

[1] The Dionysian Collection sent to Charles by Pope Hadrian in 774.

follow the example of the holy men everywhere, and, as far as we can, join in the endeavor after a good life to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ."

After this noble introduction, unquestionably written by Charles himself, the capitularies proceed to enforce certain of the decrees of the Council of Nice and of Chalcedon as well as of Antioch, Sardica, and other minor councils. Appeal is made also to the decrees of Popes Leo, Innocent, and Siricius.

Further capitularies of a general significance are then added, and are here numbered as in the original:

"61. First of all, that the Catholic faith may be diligently taught and preached to all the people by the bishops and presbyters, because this is the first commandment of the Lord God Almighty in the law, 'Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.'[1]

"62. That there may be peace and harmony and concord with all Christian people among bishops, abbots, counts, judges, and all people everywhere, the least as well as the greatest, because nothing is pleasing to God without peace, not even the gift of the holy oblation at the altar."

Then follow many appropriate quotations from the gospels and epistles relating to love and justice and the other "precepts of the gospel."

[1] Deut. vi. 4, 5; as quoted in St. Mark xii. 29, 30.

"70. That the bishops should diligently examine the presbyters in their diocese as to their faith and celebrations of baptisms and masses, that they hold the right faith and administer baptisms according to the Catholic usage, and well understand the prayers of the mass, and that the Psalms be properly sung according to the divisions of the verses, that they understand the Lord's Prayer, and preach so as to be understood by all, that each may know what he asks of God; and that the *Gloria Patri* be sung by all with due honor, and the priest himself with the holy angels and the people of God together sing the *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.* And by all means the presbyters and deacons must be told that they may not bear arms, but trust in the protection of God rather than in arms.

"71. Likewise it has pleased us to admonish your reverence that each one of you should see that throughout his diocese the Church of God has its due honor, and that the altars are venerated according to their dignity, that the house of God and the sacred altars may not be accessible to dogs, and that the vessels consecrated to God may be gathered up with great care and treated with respect by those who are worthy. Also that secular business and vain conversation be not carried on in the churches, because the house of God should be a house of prayer and not a den of thieves; and that the people have minds intent upon God when they come to the solemn service of the mass, and let them not depart before the ending of the priestly benediction."

Just as plain and explicit directions are given regarding scriptural preaching according to the Nicene Creed, denouncing crimes, admonishing to virtues. This document, worthy of a modern bishop's pastoral, concludes with these words :

" So, most beloved, let us with all our heart prepare ourselves in the knowledge of the truth, that we may be able to resist those who deny the truth, and that the Word of God, by the favor of divine grace, may increase and extend and be multiplied to the benefit of God's Holy Church, and to the salvation of our souls and to the praise and glory of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Peace to the preachers, grace to the obedient, and glory to our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen." [1]

It should be noted that this capitulary not only sets forth precepts of a very high order belonging to a truly spiritual Christianity, but also gives evidence of high attainments in the Frankish Church, which alone could justify or offer a sufficient basis for such a general admonition with any prospect of its being received and obeyed.

Thus the rule of Charles included ecclesiastical and secular affairs, and to the details of each he gave his most careful attention. The canons of the church had the same weight as the laws of the state, and the assemblies of the state were also synods of the church. The heresies of Bishop Felix and the decisions of the Council of Constantinople in regard to image worship were condemned in the same assemblies that issued laws against political offences

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 52–62 ; " Admonitio Generalis," 789 A.D.

and regulations for the order and administration of the state. Indeed, the capitularies largely included regulations for the clergy, the churches, and the cloisters, while the decretals of Rome, the canons of the councils, and the fundamental principles of the church were made valid in the Frankish kingdom through these assemblies. Charles was occupied especially with the life and conduct, the education and the learning of the clergy, for he realized the great importance of their position and functions not only to the church, but to the state as well.[1] He appointed bishops[2] just as he did secular officials, and employed them as commissioners and ministers of his will, holding them responsible in the same way and to the same extent that he did the dukes and counts and other lay officials.[3] He administered ecclesiastical property as he did state property, and was the supreme lord of the church in his domain.[4] In the writings of the scholars whom Charles had gathered around him the idea was developed and established of one large comprehensive Christian kingdom, in which ecclesiastical and political interests are bound up together under the care and guidance of one and the same ruler, inspired by the teachings of Christianity and acting for the spiritual, moral, and temporal welfare of his people. We have seen the growth of this theocratic idea, borrowed from the books of the Old Testament, em-

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 79, 80, 241.
[2] Waitz, vol. iii., p. 424, note 2.
[3] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 634, 635; "Mon. Sangall.," bk. i., c. iv., v.
[4] "Bishop of the Bishops," Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 655; "Mon. Sangall.," bk. i., c. xxv.

phasized by the early Christian writers, and applied with increasing significance to the Frankish kings, who from the time of Clovis appeared as the promoters of Christianity, and claimed to fight their battles for the cause of God, until with the coronation of Pippin, first by the Frankish bishops and three years later by the pope, the idea receives a firm and substantial basis. The words of Pippin expressing this view are not uncommon. "Because it is certain that the divine providence has raised us to the throne," or "Because we through divine compassion rule the kingdoms of the earth," or "By the aid of God who has established us on the throne of our power."[1] While these expressions become quite usual in the mouth of Charles, who speaks not only of the people and the kingdom granted by God, but also of the bishoprics and monasteries committed or entrusted to his governance,[2] the ecclesiastical chroniclers, however, more often speak of the kingdom or the empire as an office, although an office conferred by God, and they do not cease to emphasize duties and obligations therewith conferred.

In concluding this chapter we must refer to two campaigns by Charles which deserve our notice on account of the special interest attaching to each of them. The first was the romantic but fruitless campaign connected with his expedition into Spain. At the Diet of Paderborn, in 777, a number of Mahometan ambassadors appeared before Charles

[1] Waitz, vol. iii., p. 231, note 3.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., p. 79, "De litteris colendis."

on behalf, they said, of the large number of Arabs in Spain already dissatisfied with the rule of their Emir at Cordova.

They had heard of Charles. The glory of his martial deeds had reached them in their home beyond the Pyrenees. They accordingly sent Ibn-al-Arabi, governor of Saragossa, with others, who put themselves under the king's protection, and to gain his aid in throwing off the rule of the Emir. Charles accepted their offer, and preparations were made during the winter for the great exploit from which so much was expected—even no less than the winning back of Spain to Europe and to Christianity. In the spring two armies, made up from all the people in alliance with the Franks, started for the south, one army headed by Duke Bernard, the uncle of Charles and his foremost general, to go by way of the Mediterranean, the other, commanded by Charles himself, over the Pyrenees and through the valley of Roncesvalles.[1] Both armies were to meet at Saragossa, which Ibn-al-Arabi was to surrender at their call. All went well until their meeting before the walls of the city, which they found closed against them. The inhabitants and defenders of the city failed to concur with the plans of their governor, or, more probably, the fulfilment of his threats by the presence of Charles with his army had enabled him to secure the concessions he had demanded. What took place at Saragossa we do not know, for the chroniclers on each side exaggerate their own exploits and contradict those of the other side. Cer-

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 778; "Vita," c. 9.

tain it is that the Spanish expedition of Charles was a failure, and his army was snatched from defeat and destruction only by his shrewd and cautious generalship in leading his armies in their retreat through the dangerous and hostile country. One disaster occurred. In an attack made on the rear-guard, while passing through the valley of Roncesvalles, the Franks in that division were killed to a man. It was this disaster which has been made the subject of legend and of song, for here fell Roland, the prefect of the marches of Brittany, whose last bugle call Charles is said to have heard faintly, far off in the distance, without realizing the danger of his friend and hero.

The famous "Song of Roland" of the romance writers is founded upon this incident, which has been set forth in the well-known lines of Scott:

> "O for the voice of that wild horn
> On Fontarabian echoes borne,
> The dying hero's call,
> That told imperial Charlemagne
> How Paynim sons of swarthy Spain
> Had wrought his champion's fall." [1]

Soon after this, in 779, Charles prepared for a second journey to Italy, and in the winter of 780 took up his residence in the palace of Pavia. From here he put forth two capitularies,[2] that he might establish order and discipline and much-needed reform in the country. Among other evils, Christian and pagan serfs were sold into slavery. On his way to

[1] "Rob Roy," chap. ii.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 206, 207, No. 99; pp. 190, 191, No. 90.

Rome Charles stopped at Parma, and there for the first time met Alcuin on his way to England carrying the pall granted by the pope to the archbishop of York. Easter was spent at Rome, and Karlmann, the second son of Charles, was baptized with the name of Pippin, the pope himself standing as his godfather; he was then crowned king of Italy, though only four years of age, and his younger brother, Louis, was crowned king of Aquitaine at the age of three. The entrance of Louis into his kingdom of Aquitaine deserves description. A company of good nurses under strong military escort took charge of his youthful majesty of Aquitaine, and conducted him in a cradle from the banks of the Meuse to the banks of the Loire at Orleans, where they took him out of the cradle and prepared him for a more dignified and martial presentation to the people. They encased him in a coat of mail expressly constructed for his tender frame, gave him suitable weapons, and set him on a charger, and as he was too small to guide it or to sit alone they held him in place, and thus introduced him into his dominions.[1]

It was about ten years after the fruitless campaign into Spain that Charles determined upon the conquest of the Avars, which resulted finally in another conversion of the remnant of a great people to Christianity. Only just before he had succeeded in bringing to submission two refractory dukes. Urged by Pope Hadrian, in 787, he had forced the duke of Benevento to acknowledge his supremacy and to

[1] "Vita Hludowici;" M. G. SS., vol. ii.

take the oath of allegiance to him,[1] a peace which enabled Charles to add much to the papal possessions—Capua, Populonia, Rosellæ, and possibly Sovona, Toscanella, Viterbo, Bagnaria, and some other cities of Benevento.[2] Charles immediately afterwards proceeded against Tassilo, the duke of the Bavarians. In 788, at the Diet of Ingelheim, both the duke and his wife were seized and their children arrested. Tassilo was doomed to death, but Charles commuted the sentence to the monastic life, a favorite mode of punishing kings and great lords, by getting rid of them quite effectually without putting them to death. The other members of the ducal family were scattered in the monasteries and nunneries of the realm. After the overthrow of the duke Charles proceeded to subdue the duchy. He established a military occupation of its boundaries, annexed the whole territory to his kingdom, and turned it into a Frankish province governed by the counts of his appointment in the various districts, with Duke Gerold, his brother-in-law, as legal governor, and required the Bavarian nobles to swear fealty to him, and to guarantee their allegiance by giving hostages.

He then turned his attention to the Avars. They were a savage and barbarous people living on the Bavarian frontiers. Lawless and fierce, they pillaged and devastated the country, burning and destroying the churches. They were, as their prede-

[1] "Ann. Lauriss.," an. 787; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 168; Einhard, "Vita," c. 10.

[2] Abel-Simson, vol. i., pp. 571, 572.

cessors under Attila in the fifth century had been, the Scourge of God. They were the terror of all Europe. War against them would be exceedingly popular, and Charles undertook it, the chronicler says, with more spirit than any of his other wars, and made far greater preparations for it.[1] Three army corps were formed—the Italians under the dukes of Friuli and Istria, with King Pippin as nominal head, the forces of Gaul and Germany under Charles himself, while the Bavarian forces brought a fleet and sailed down the Danube. At the borders of the realm a fast and service of litanies lasting for three days formed the religious inauguration of the war.[2] A sudden and brilliant victory by the army of Pippin, and the consequent demoralization and flight of a host of Avars, marked an auspicious opening to the campaign.[3] A wholesale baptism of the conquered people followed, but the same faithlessness and spirit of revolt were seen in them as characterized the Saxons. The first campaign closed in 791, but it was not until 803 that the final regulation of the Avar affairs was made. In many of the expeditions great booty was secured, the Avars having large stores of gold and silver. The last appearance of the Avars was in 805, when the weakened and diminished people, exposed to the incessant depredations of the Slavonians, from which they were no longer able to defend themselves, went humbly into the presence of their chief to beg the

[1] Einhard, "Vita," c. 13.

[2] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 349, 350; Ep. Carol. 6; a letter from Charles to his Queen Fastrada.

[3] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 791; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 177.

aid of the Emperor Charles, and to ask his permission to settle on the little tract of land on the bank of the river Danube within the Frankish dominions.[1] The piteous appeal of their heart-broken Christian Avar chieftain, standing on the verge of the grave, told most eloquently and most pathetically what the Franks had done.

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 805 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 192.

CHAPTER XXII.

IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION—CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT—THE MISSI—THE ASSEMBLIES —THE CAPITULARIES.

T is an oft-debated question whether Charles was greater as a general in war or as a ruler in administration. A modern historian[1] says that he was greater as a conqueror than as a law-giver, while Gibbon estimates his military powers lightly, and says, "Charles might behold with envy the Saracen trophies of his grandfather." "But," he continues, "I touch with reverence the laws of Charlemagne."[2]

We have noticed already some of the examples of his early legislation. As emperor he carried out more fully and organized more systematically the administration already established. The greatness of Charles is not in question, the object is to decide in what that greatness consisted. Paulus Diaconus says of him: "One knows not which to admire most in this great man, his bravery in war or his wisdom in peace, the glory of his military achieve-

[1] Andrews, pp. 138, 139 and note 1. [2] Gibbon, c. 49.

ments or the splendor of his triumphs in the liberal arts."[1]. Although the second king of his house, he gave his name to the whole dynasty, and the entire period before and after him is known as the "Age of Charles the Great." The preceding events prepared and led up to his crowning work, while the events of the century succeeding were permeated by his influence and felt the inspiration of what he had accomplished. The revolution which placed his family upon the throne had been effected by his father, and the kingly rule already established was handed on to him, but the glory of his defence and administration of the kingdom thus received eclipsed that of his predecessors, although without them his work would not have been possible. Yet all that he accomplished seemed destined to be overthrown and to leave no permanent results, and this, which is merely a superficial view, though held by many historians, Guizot tells us, would compare him to a meteor dashing out from the shades of barbarism, only to disappear and be lost in the darkness of feudalism.[2]

The work of Charles was of a threefold nature : to guard what had already been established, to strengthen by extension where necessary, and to consolidate and centralize the power necessary for accomplishing this work. After the death of Charles conquests ceased, unity disappeared, and the empire fell apart, but the different parts were not as they had been before their union. Great and glorious as it was, the empire formed under Charles the Great was not,

[1] Quoted by Alzog, vol. ii., p. 188. [2] Guizot, Lecture xx.

and, in the nature of things, could not be permanent, but the work of Charles, even though it did not remain in the form in which he left it, was nevertheless the necessary preparation for the founding of great nations with definite boundaries, fixed centres, and established aims and purposes, capable of self-defence and of self-development. The imperial organization itself, which Charles realized for a moment, was a dream and not a reality, the form of which disappeared when the spirit had fled and the source of its power and unity was withdrawn. It was in that which he was able to accomplish for the different elements of his great empire that the true success of his endeavor lies.

His administration divided itself naturally into the local and the central government. The oldest parts of his kingdom and those nearer the centre were divided into districts of varying size, over which he appointed counts, usually from noble families residing in the district. The larger and more distant and later added territories were ruled by dukes, in most cases the descendants or successors of the early kings of the country before it was merged into the Frankish Empire. On the borders of the realm still larger single districts were formed, not so directly under the rule of Charles, and each was placed under a mark-count or margrave, later marquis, from the German mark-graf. These border provinces served as a protection to the kingdom within and as a defence and guard against barbarian tribes without.

Associated with these dukes and counts were

archbishops, bishops, and abbots, who had ecclesiastical supervision in connection with their office, and exercised a certain jurisdiction on account of their position, while under these higher officers were lower ranks of resident officials—judges, centurions, and others. These all held lands from the king, and exercised their powers partly in his name and partly in their own.

In addition to these resident officials were the royal commissioners, *missi dominici*, authorized agents of his power, to oversee, to perform, to administer, and to report to him the complaints which they received and the duties which they performed. By their aid Charles endeavored to enforce his own authority, to make his influence felt in the remotest borders of his kingdom, and to correct abuses arising from the greed and incompetence or indifference of his counts and their subordinates. The report which they brought back often led to new acts of legislation set forth in the capitularies. The organization and establishment of these commissioners formed a characteristic feature of Charles's administration, though they were not originated by him. However, they were not employed probably by any of his kings or mayors of the palace previous to Charles Martel. After the conquest of Aquitaine we find them mentioned in the Aquitanian capitularies put forth by Pippin in the following law: "Whatever our commissioners and elders of the king have determined for our own benefit and that of the whole church let us not presume to oppose."[1]

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 43; Cap. Aq., c. 12, 768 A.D.

In 782 they appear in a military capacity, Charles having sent three to conduct the army against a few Slavs who had risen in revolt,[1] while there are many instances in which they take command of the troops in the field.

Pippin in administering the kingdom of Italy subject to his father sent two ecclesiastical commissioners to inspect the monasteries and to report their condition both moral and material.[2] They held also a most important place and exercised a very great influence among the Saxons. As we have seen already, no general assemblies were to be held among the Saxons unless the order was sent through the commissioners, and the importance of these officers is seen from the fact that they are granted the triple wergeld of the highest dignitaries. Among the first acts of the newly crowned emperor on returning to his own country, in 802, was the complete organization of his vast dominions, and in this work appears the tremendous energy and wonderful ability which he possessed, and which were so necessary to hold together realms so diverse in language, in customs, and in race. For the performance of this great task he developed and put into general operation this system of commissioners.

The best and earliest evidence as to the nature of the government of Charles as emperor may be found in the great capitulary of 802 regarding these commissioners, from which a few quotations should be made.

[1] "Ann. Lauriss.," an. 782; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 162.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., p. 199; Cap. Pap., c. 11, 787 A.D.

"The most serene and Christian lord emperor, Charles, has chosen from his nobles and sent into all parts of his kingdom the wisest and most prudent men, both archbishops, bishops, venerable abbots, and pious laymen, and through them has granted to all persons to live according to just law. Moreover, wherever otherwise than justly and rightly anything has been established by law, this he has commanded them with most diligent zeal to seek out and to lay before him, and this he himself by divine favor desires to improve. And let no one by his own cleverness and astuteness, according to the custom of many, dare to interfere with the written law, or to disturb the course of justice, or to set himself up against the churches of God, or poor persons, or widows, or children, or any Christian man, but let all men live according to the command of God, justly and in accordance with the righteous judgment, and let every one in his own place and profession continue to live in unity with others. Let the canons in canonical life scrupulously abstain from business and base gain. Let nuns with diligent care guard their life. Let the laity and those living in the world obey every law without fraud or deceit, and in every particular live in perfect charity and peace. Let the commissioners themselves diligently make inquiry whenever any one complains that wrong has been done him by another, as they desire to keep the favor of God for themselves and to preserve with fidelity what has been entrusted to them, so that in all places everywhere in regard to the holy churches of God, and in the case of poor

people, children, and widows, they may administer the law fully and with justice for all people according to the will and in the fear of God. And if there is anything which by themselves, with the aid of the provincial counts, they are unable to improve and to bring to justice, let them refer this with their report without ambiguity to the emperor's decision. Nor for the flattery of any man, nor for the reward of any, nor by reason of any kinship, nor by the fear of those who are in power, let any man impede the course of justice."

They are further instructed to receive from every man, lay or ecclesiastic, upward of twelve years of age, throughout the whole realm, an oath of fidelity to Charles as emperor, and also from those who as yet had taken no oath. Furthermore, they are to explain the oath in public, so that each one may understand how great is the oath, and how many things are comprehended in it. We learn from other capitularies that the commissioners were sent in pairs, one ecclesiastic of high rank, usually a bishop or archbishop, and the other a noble, usually a count.[1]

Thus the intimate union and interdependence of church and state were shown still further in the institution of the *missi*. Though usually, yet not always, were they sent in pairs; rarely one was sent alone or to act with the bishop, but sometimes three or four were sent. They acted also as special ambassadors or legates. They were chosen not exclusively, although generally, from the dukes or

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 100; Capit. Spec., 802 A.D.

counts, and archbishops, bishops, or abbots, but they were taken also from all ranks, from the palace officers down to ordinary vassals and monks or chaplains.

Their judicial duties were assigned as follows: "We wish that for the purpose of the administration of justice, which has hitherto remained the duty of the counts, that our *missi* should make a circuit at least four times in every year—for the winter, in January; for the spring, in April; for the summer, in July; and for the autumn, in October. In the other months, however, each of the counts may hold his court and administer justice; but our *missi* should four times in the month, in four different places, hold these courts with the counts themselves who may be able to assemble at that place."[1] The courts held by these commissioners used the simple and direct methods of administering justice prevalent in the emperor's court, of which, in fact, they were an extension. Local justices (*scabini*) were appointed by the commissioners or by the counts.

In the reform of the administration the commissioners had power to remove incompetent or unworthy officials beneath the rank of count. They might report charges against a count at their discretion, or might settle themselves upon him and live in his house, keeping him under their continual supervision, until he reformed in order to get rid of them, and by the capitularies of 802, already mentioned, the counts were especially required to make

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 177; Cap. de Just., c. 8, 811–813 A.D.

due provision for the comfort and welfare of the commissioners.

Definite districts were established first in 802, though it is not known into how many districts the empire was divided, and the extent of only three provinces is known to us.[1] It is probable that the districts were more or less permanent, but the officers served at the pleasure of Charles, and they were sometimes sent to districts in which they did not reside. In the three provinces already mentioned, however, the commissioners were residents of their jurisdictions. Under Louis the Pious, when the strong hand of Charles was withdrawn, the districts tended to become identical with the archbishoprics, and the decentralizing tendency of the age operated to make the commissioners local lords, independent of the emperor, as the counts had become before them.

Their reports were made at irregular intervals to the emperor, but also annually at the general assembly held in May, by which the local government was brought into touch with the central. Thus they were the immediate personal representatives of the emperor. An armed opposition to them was punishable with death as treason. The oversight of the administration of justice, the holding of courts, the administration of military affairs, the defence of the frontier, the oversight of ecclesiastical affairs, the enforcement of the laws, and zeal for the interests of the emperor were all duties entrusted to the commissioners, not as before on particular

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 100; Cap. Spec. 802 A.D.

occasions for special purposes, but as regular delegates and representatives of the imperial power for all purposes residing and having authority in well-defined districts.

The central government of Charles the Great was carried on largely through the national assemblies, and although for some time the ecclesiastical councils had also served to carry on state affairs, yet later they joined their deliberations with those of the spring assembly, an institution which had come down from early German times. As we have already seen, under Karlmann and Pippin yearly synods were ordered to be held,[1] and later they were to be summoned twice a year, March 1st and October 1st.[2] Thus as one synod coincided with the March-field, so the other appears to have been the occasion given for holding a political assembly in the autumn.

In 755, for the first time, the assembly, which had previously been held in March, was changed to May for military reasons, and hence was called the May-field. Charles kept the name, though frequently the assembly was held later in the year, in June, or in July, or even in August, the time as well as place being determined by military considerations, although it was held even when no campaigns occurred that year.[3] Later military affairs were put in the background, civil and ecclesiastical concerns being foremost. Sometimes both the ecclesiastical and the state assembly were separated, but held at

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 25, 29, 742, 744 A.D.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 34, 755 A.D.
[3] "Ann. Petav.," an. 781; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 16.

the same time and place ;[1] sometimes they were divided into three groups or houses, the archbishops and bishops in one, the abbots and monks in another, and the nobles and military officers in the third ;[2] sometimes five different places are named for different assemblies at the same time.[3] The fullest description of these assemblies has come down to us from Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. He tells us that Adalhard, an old and wise man, who was intimately associated with the Emperor Charles the Great, being one of his chief counsellors and abbot of the monastery of Corbie, had written a little book, *De Ordine Palatii*, now lost. This book he had seen in his youth, had read and copied, and in this copy he presents to us a good description of the constitutional arrangements of the central government of Charles. "The whole administration of the realm," he says, "was carried on in two different divisions. The first, the careful ruling and ordering of the palace, and the second, the care for the whole kingdom as it was provided for in the general assemblies." These general assemblies it was customary to hold not oftener than twice a year ; the first, at which the affairs of the kingdom were arranged for the next year, not to be changed except in cases of dire necessity. At this assembly appeared the whole body of the chiefs and nobles, both ecclesiastic and lay. The more distinguished in order to give weight and authority to their con-

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 794 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 181.
[2] "Ann. Lauresh.," an. 802 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 39.
[3] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 813 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 200.

clusions, the lesser in order to carry them out. Yet all labored together and arrived at their conclusions according to their own opinions and judgment. Here, too, they were engaged in arranging for the yearly gifts. The second assembly, on the contrary, was held only with the counsellors of higher rank and authority, and matters relating to affairs of the realm for the following year were considered. In case something came up for which it appeared necessary to lay down rules or to make decisions beforehand, or if anything enacted the preceding year failed of its purpose, or for which the necessity arose for immediate action ; for example, in case of rights conferred on the margraves in any part of the realm, whether these rights, having lapsed, should be renewed or terminated ; also other matters relating to war or peace imminent in different quarters, so that the seniors might consider long enough beforehand, by their counsel, what action ought to be taken.

These plans and deliberations were kept secret until the next general assembly, that they might not be frustrated, but that they might be put in such a way as to commend themselves to the other seniors and to satisfy the popular will. As far as possible men were chosen as counsellors, both clerical and lay, who feared God and were so faithful that, eternal life excepted, they would put nothing before the emperor and the empire.

Furthermore, in order that the business of these nobles and chief senators of the realm might begin at once, lest they should seem to have been con-

voked without good reason, the matters which had come into his own mind by the inspiration of God, or had been brought to his attention since the previous assembly, were immediately laid before them in capitularies already drawn up and arranged. These were then taken up for consideration, the space of one, two, or three days or more, as the importance of the subject demanded, being granted them. Palace messengers passed back and forth, asking the emperor's opinions and receiving his replies. No one from outside was allowed to come in until each matter was settled to the advantage of the most glorious prince, then everything was set forth in " his venerable sight and hearing, and all are guided by whatever his God-given wisdom chooses." In the meanwhile the emperor elsewhere was busy, receiving gifts, giving audiences, and attending to other like affairs of state, yet as often as they desired he went to them and remained with them as long as they wished, and in the most familiar way they reported to him how each matter stood, and freely set forth what changes or modifications they had discussed.

If the weather was favorable these meetings were held out of doors, but if not, inside, in different places, where they gathered in large numbers in separate groups, so arranged that in one all the bishops, abbots, and other most honorable clergy were assembled, without any laymen being present; likewise all the counts and chief men and others of like honor, separated from the rest of the multitude early in the morning, until all were assembled,

whether the emperor was present or absent, and then the aforesaid seniors in their accustomed manner withdrew, the clergy to their appointed assembly, and the laity to theirs, seats being prepared for them with due honor.

A second method of the emperor was to inquire what each had brought with him from his own part of the realm worth relating or considering, for they were not only permitted, but positively commanded to inquire most diligently into matters within and outside the empire, not only from natives or from foreigners, but even from friends or from foes—if any people in any part were in revolt, and the cause of the revolt; if there was any murmuring or any complaint of injustice, or anything else which the general council ought to consider; and if beyond the boundaries of the empire any people who had been subdued were rebelling, or any who had rebelled were being subdued, or if any secret plots were being formed against the empire. In all these things he carefully asked what dangers threatened and what was the cause of them.[1]

The second assembly, held in the fall of the year, was rarely, but still sometimes of direct importance,[2] and became more important under Louis the Pious. These fall assemblies, like those of the spring, were not held at any regular time—some in August, some

[1] Migne, Series Secunda, vol. cxxv., pp. 998 ff.; Hincmar, "De Ordine Palatii," c. 12, 29, 34, 35 and 36.

[2] *E. g.*, October, 797, Boretius, vol. i., p. 71, Second Saxon Capitulary; October, 802, Boretius, vol. i., pp. 105–111, important ecclesiastical rules; December, 805, Boretius, vol. i., pp. 120–126, a double capitulary.

in October or November. In the winter of 818–819 one was held after Christmas, the next assembly being held in July, 819, while another in January, 820, and the next in February, May, and October of 821 ; that held in October being the greatest and general assembly for that year. Nor was there anything definite regarding the place of these assemblies. As long as military considerations governed, the place as well as the time was determined according to the object of the campaign ; also the character of the business or the special interests involved often determined the place at which it should be held ; otherwise Charles seemed to prefer the cities on the Rhine, especially Worms and Aachen. Under Louis the Pious they were held frequently at Aachen. They were usually held at one of the imperial palaces or in large cities, rarely at a monastery, and then it is expressly stated as being contrary to the custom.[1] Attendance at these assemblies was a duty and an obligation rather than a right or privilege. Although the spring assembly, the Mayfield, was regarded as a popular assembly, and had come down from the earlier times, when the whole nation assembled all together, it is probable that the people came to have a less and less important part, and were satisfied by the announcement of what was there concluded. Guizot, perhaps, is too one-sided in saying that " it was not the Frankish nation that came to these assemblies to watch over and to direct the administration, but it was Charles the Great who gathered around him certain

[1] " Ann. Bert.," an. 846 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 33.

individuals to watch over and to direct the nation."[1] Lehuerou also goes too far when he says that "the Carolingian royalty, even under Charles the Great, is less a monarchy than an aristocratic government,"[2] though as long as Charles lived he took the initiative, proposing subjects and matter for deliberation and action. Louis, however, said that he would do nothing without the agreement of the nobles.

In good weather these meetings were held in the open air, and when the weather would not permit of this some large public building was used. Matters coming up for consideration at these meetings covered every variety of subjects, as is shown in the capitularies which they issued. One of the most varied, perhaps, being that of the year 794, the famous assembly of Frankfort, which began with the condemnation of the Adoptionists and of the Constantinopolitan decrees on image worship, went on to consider the jurisdiction of bishops over their clergy, the election of abbots, the tariff on grains and bread, the care of orphans, the adoration of saints, the giving of alms to the poor, and the qualifications of cellarists in monasteries.

The capitularies are of great interest and importance, not only in giving an idea of the method of administration, but also in showing the condition of the empire, ecclesiastically and morally as well as socially and politically. Guizot has given us the most interesting and fullest description of their contents, and although it is impossible to make the

[1] Guizot, "Essais," p. 336.
[2] Lehuerou, p. 294.

sharp distinctions which he makes between the various articles, yet the general conclusions which he presents are instructive. After numbering those issued by Charles the Great, of which he has collected and analyzed about sixty-five,[1] he finds that about three fifths of the articles are occupied with civil affairs, and about two fifths with religious or ecclesiastical concerns. These capitularies are not merely collections of laws, although they do emphasize and restate the traditional customs of the older time, adding such new regulations as may meet the later conditions, but in addition to this they include moral precepts and police regulations, sometimes in the minutest details, relating to the church, army, the poor, and the palace, penal regulations relating to punishment and crime, the regulation of the religious and ecclesiastical life of the clergy, entering sometimes into the minutest details in regard to the veneration of martyrs and of saints, and concerning public preaching. They also contained instructions to the commissioners, extracts from the ecclesiastical councils, replies given by Charles to the questions addressed by counts, bishops, and others in relation to difficulties in administration, also some questions which Charles proposes to ask in the general assembly. These questions are curious in the extreme, and give striking evidence of the keenness of his observation and of his skill in administration and in dealing with men.

"Why is it that either on the march or in the

[1] Boretius has published one hundred and thirteen; M. G. LL., section ii., vol. i.

camp, when anything is necessary to be done for the defence of the country, one does not wish to lend aid to another? Whence comes this continual struggle by which each one wishes to have that which he sees possessed by another? To ask in what matters and in what places ecclesiastics put obstacles in the way of laymen, and laymen in the way of ecclesiastics, in the exercise of their functions. To seek out and to discuss how far a bishop or an abbot should interfere in secular affairs, and a count or other layman in ecclesiastical affairs. To ask them in an emphatic manner regarding the meaning of the words of the apostle, 'No man that warreth in the service of God entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.' To whom were these words addressed? To ask the bishops and abbots to declare to us truly what these words mean which they use so often, 'to renounce the world,' and by what sign one can distinguish those who renounce the world from those who are still occupied with it.

"Whether it is only by the fact that they do not bear arms and are not publicly married? Also to ask if he is renouncing the world who labors each day, no matter how, to increase his wealth, sometimes promising the happiness of the kingdom of heaven, and sometimes threatening with the eternal punishments of hell; or even in the name of God, or of some saint, despoiling of his goods some man, rich or poor, guileless and ill-advised, so that his rightful heirs are left in want, and most of them, on account of the misery in which they fall, driven to

all sorts of evil and crime and committing almost necessarily misdemeanors and offences." [1]

Other articles of these capitularies are merely notes or memoranda which Charles wrote for his own convenience. Others contain judicial decisions to be taken as examples or standards of punishment. Affairs of financial or domestic legislation are also considered as well as purely political acts, nominations, recommendations, and matters relating to individual cases. Thus is shown not only the wide range of the administration of Charles, but the active personal interest which he took in every single detail. No wonder that with his fall fell also the central administration, the general assemblies, and the royal commissioners.

Nothing resembled feudalism less than the sovereign unity to which Charles aspired, and which in a great degree he was able to attain, yet in his reign were laid the strongest foundations of feudalism. By checking invasions and repressing internal disorders he gave to the local positions, tendencies, and influences time to take real possession of the land, and its inhabitants and the individual officers, the dukes, the counts and margraves, whom he so firmly established, and who were the chief ministers of his authority, and performed their functions in dependence upon him and under his control, became the well-nigh independent feudal lords in succeeding centuries.

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 161–165, 811 A.D.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES—IMAGE WORSHIP — ADOPTIANISM — THE FILIOQUE CLAUSE — "VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS."

IT was not only in the ecclesiastical organization, nor in his relations with the pope, however, that the religious activity and the control over the church by Charles was shown. In three important controversies which rose during his reign he exercised a powerful and manifest influence.

The Iconoclastic controversy had continued in the East until the death of the last Leo, in 780, placed Irene in power as regent in behalf of her son. She had already shown evidences of a zeal for image worship, and had made attempts to bring about its restoration, and now, anxiously and carefully, she began preparations for a determined action. In 786 a new council was held at Constantinople, in which, it is true, a majority of the bishops still maintained their hostility to images, and the council was dissolved, but in the next year a general council was summoned at Nicæa. At this council, under the influence of the empress, those who had been won

over to her cause, with the rest of the number of upholders of image worship, were enabled to bring about a final decision in favor of the restoration of images. Those bishops who signed a formal recantation of their former opposition were allowed to retain their episcopal positions, and every effort was made to render easy the desertion from the still powerful number of the iconoclasts. At this council it was decided that not only the sign of the cross, but also images drawn with colors, composed with mosaic work, or formed with other suitable material, might be placed in the churches, in houses, and in the streets, including images of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of angels, and of all holy and devout men. It was also declared that bowing to an image, which is simply the token of love and of reverence (*προσκύνησις*), ought not to be confounded with the adoration (*λατρεία*) which is due to God alone. The decrees of this council were confirmed at an adjourned assembly in Constantinople in the presence of the empress and her son, and the worship of images was once more established.

The relation of the pope to this controversy we have already noticed at its very beginning in the early part of the eighth century. What had been the prevailing sentiment in the Frankish Church we have no means of knowing, but there could be no doubt regarding the position taken by Charles on this question. He at once announced himself as zealously opposed to the decree of this second Nicene Council regarding image worship, an opposition which was increased and expressed itself more

bitterly in consequence of the breaking off, in that same year, all negotiations regarding the betrothal of Constantine to the Frankish princess, Rothrud. Soon after the famous work entitled "The Four Caroline Books" appeared in 790, under the emperor's name, refuting the position laid down at the second Nicene Council, and declaring the position to be taken by the Frankish Church on this question. The authorship of this work is still in dispute, although Charles unquestionably was responsible for the opinions therein set forth, and gave to them all the weight of his authority, and perhaps had much to do with the very form of expression which these ideas assume. Alcuin and the other theologians of the court must, however, have held a very important place in the actual composition. The work is moderate in tone, sensible in expression, and at the same time shows the coloring of the peculiar views and superstitions of the age. The use is distinguished from the abuse of images in the church, at the same time that the fanaticism of the iconoclasts is condemned. Images might be used for the decoration of the churches and for the memorials of past events. They should not be regarded as idols, as their opponents affirmed, though their use was not necessary, nor ought it to be made of such great importance as their supporters maintained. The harsh expressions against the iconoclasts were condemned, as well as the principles and arguments by which they were defended. This enthusiasm for art and for images he regards as absurd and foolish, and even underestimates the value

of pictures in depicting and representing the characteristics of the mind and soul. The chief objection, however, is that they are in contradiction to the spiritual nature of Christianity, and those who rely upon them show a weakness and inability to rise above the things of sense to the realm of spirit without the help of material things. "God who fills all things is not to be adored or sought for in material images, but should be ever present to the pure heart." [1] To the sign of the cross, however, is given an exceptional and much higher importance, and here it must be said the outward symbol and the idea represented by it are not kept distinctly separate. The relics also of the saints are to be preferred to images as having been in special contact with these holy persons, thus acquiring a sacredness which should receive a higher reverence than that paid to pictured forms, the work of an artist more or less skilled. To show reverence for the bodies of saints was a great means of promoting piety, for they reign with Christ in heaven, and their bodies should rise again, but even the act of prostration (προσκύνησις) before images was condemned as the transfer to a created object of the adoration belonging to God alone and as a species of idolatry, and any reverence for lifeless images was irrational. "You may keep lights burning before your pictures," the king declares; "we will be diligent in studying the holy Scriptures." [2]

In accordance with the close relations existing

[1] "Lib. Carol.," bk. iii., c. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, bk. ii., c. 30.

between Charles and the pope, and his frequently expressed regard and reverence for the ecclesiastical authority of the Church of Rome, he presented, by the hands of Abbot Angilbert, his refutation of the second Nicene Council to Pope Hadrian, from whom a formal reply was received opposing the position taken in the royal treatise, but apparently without inducing Charles to yield anything. Finally, at the assembly held at Frankfort, in 794, these contested points were discussed in the presence of papal legates, and the adoration of images (*adoratio et servitus imaginum*) was condemned.

The second controversy in which Charles showed his influence was that in regard to Adoptianism. This theory, by which Christ was declared to be, as far as his human nature was concerned, the adopted Son of God, was not a mere revival of Nestorian views, but a distinct development from the position laid down by the church in the sixth general council. It was presented most strongly and convincingly by Bishop Felix of Urgel, a diocese in the Spanish mark, and less ably by Elipantus, the archbishop of Toledo, who was supported by a large number of the Spanish bishops. The Spanish Church was of great strength and of no mean importance. It had presented a remarkable theological life in the long list of the councils of Toledo, and though it maintained not a close, but a continuous connection with Rome, it had presented, nevertheless, a kind of established national spirit under the archbishop of Toledo. It had passed through a long and momentous history of struggle, of suffer-

ing, and of triumph. The Visigoths, originally Arian, after the conversion of their king, Reccared, became thoroughly orthodox, and gave evidence of their faith in the famous filioque clause inserted in the Nicene Creed by the third Council of Toledo in 589. At the beginning of the eighth century the whole country had been overrun and finally conquered by the Mahometans, and in the middle of the century a Western Saracenic empire had been established under the Emir of Cordova, and although the Christian worship was allowed by payment of a tribute, yet the strong, overshadowing influence of Mahometanism was keenly felt. A strong opposition to the very assertion of the divine nature in Christ, as well as to the exclusion or undervaluing of the human expressed in the condemned doctrines of monophysitism and monothelitism made itself manifest, and Elipantus himself was prominent in the refutation of Sabellianism in 780. "When, therefore," says Dorner, "the problem, in the form in which it presented itself to the mind of the church after the Dyotheletic Synod of the year 680, was brought into contact with the factors embraced by the Spanish Church, the result was Adoptianism."[1] Adoptianism, however, was no mere revival of Nestorianism. It had passed beyond that stage of the controversy. Nestorius and his followers had directed their analysis to the distinction between the two natures in Christ, while Adoptianism concerned itself with the relations of personality and gave evidence of a distinct advance in this concep-

[1] Dorner, division ii., vol. i., p. 251.

tion. Personality now denoted the Ego, the self, and not a "constitutional principle of existence." In other words, they really continued the position maintained by the church in the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, and in that of Constantinople, in 680, and asserted the existence of two natures and two wills in the sphere of personality. From this controversy Dorner dates a retrogressive movement in Christology, and a distinct weakening of the ideas expressed in the doctrine of the double nature and the double will. There was a tendency backward towards the reassertion of the impersonality of the human nature, and a revival of the view of Cyril and the Eutychians regarding the incarnation as a miracle by which the divine was substituted for the human substance, leaving to the latter only its accidents. This theory did not appear permanently, however, in connection with any direct change in the doctrine of the nature and person of the historical Christ; but it did exercise an influence and find a place in the doctrine of the Eucharist, and helped to develop that tendency, already apparent, by which, in accordance with the principle of the substitution of the symbol for the thing symbolized, the elements of bread and wine in the holy communion were coming to take the place of the spiritual presence of Christ. Thus was being laid the foundation for that later doctrine, that in the miracle of the altar the divine body and blood of Christ were substituted for or took the place of the substance of bread and wine whose accidents alone remain. Indeed, the doctrine was set forth distinctly by Paschasius Rad-

bertus, a monk of Corbie, in the middle of the ninth century, and was at the same time just as distinctly refuted by Rabanus Maurus and by Ratramnus, the latter in a treatise which has become a classic on the subject.

The Adoptianists taught that Christ is the only begotten Son of God, solely according to his divine nature ; according to his human nature, he is only, by the decision of the divine will, adopted as the Son of God, and therefore the first-begotten Son of God. The Adoptianists agreed that the Son of God, of the substance of the Father, was born and assumed humanity in Christ. Nor did Felix object to giving the man, Jesus, the name " Son of God," on account of his union with the Son of God in the person of Christ ; but he held that the Son of Man was of a different nature from the Son of God—that is, a created being of another substance than the Deity ; hence, as the son of David, he cannot be styled the Son of God by nature. This seemed to be another attempt to assert the reality of the human nature in Christ, and to maintain at the same time the supreme and absolute unity of the Deity, on both of which points the Mahometans severely criticised the doctrine of the church. Their opponents said this view would end logically in the duality of persons. They insisted on the reality of the incarnation, and though they were strong in pointing out errors and dangers in the doctrine of Felix, they were not able to state their doctrine in a strong, positive manner.

At the request of Charles the Great, Alcuin issued

a treatise on the subject, which Charles himself is said to have revised and modified. He insisted that something, which is of a different substance from another thing, may undeniably possess as its property this other thing in such a manner that, for the sake of this real and substantial relationship between the two, the latter may become a predicate or mark of the former. This principle he applied to the relation of the divine and human in Christ, maintaining that the human nature was made a predicate of the Son of God. The great importance of the position and influence of Adoptianism is not attributable to any positive results it worked out and set forth, but to the circumstance that the opposition raised against it constituted a great crisis in the history of dogma.[1]

From Spain these discussions spread naturally in the adjacent Frankish provinces, for Felix, a man of distinguished piety and Christian zeal, as well as of superior acuteness and intellect, was bishop of Urgel, situated in the Spanish mark. It was this spread of the controversy into the Frankish territory that led Charles to bring the matter before the assembly in Regensberg in 792,[2] at which Felix was summoned to appear. His doctrines were condemned, and he consented to recant. Charles sent him to Rome, where he was arrested and imprisoned and wrote a new recantation, but returning to Spain he repented of his misrepresentations of his doc-

[1] Dorner, division ii., vol. i., p. 268.

[2] "Ann. Lauriss." and "Ann. Einhardi," an. 792; M. G. SS., vol. i., pp. 178, 179.

trines, and took up his residence under the rule and protection of the Saracens. The Spanish bishops wrote to Charles demanding a new examination and a reinstatement of Felix in his see. These letters were forwarded to Hadrian, and the matter brought before the Frankfort Council of 794,[1] when Felix was again condemned and all records sent to Elipantus. At this time Alcuin had returned to the court of Charles, and he used every kindly means to induce Felix to give up his new and erroneous doctrine, supplementing his letters with the formal treatise on the subject, as already mentioned.

To this Felix, still unconvinced, replied in a calm, impassioned and exceedingly able manner, but Elipantus answered it with bitterness and passion. Alcuin held up to them the teaching of the universal church, and based his strongest argument on the authority of tradition, but Felix and Elipantus said that Christ and not Peter was the rock on which the church was founded, and that the church and the true faith might consist of only a few. Alcuin now referred the discussion to Paulinus, the patriarch of Aquileia, Theodolf of Orleans, and Richbon, bishop of Treves, as well as to the pope, thus not giving to the pope the absolute power of decision. Charles agreed to this, and sent a clerical commission consisting of Benedict of Aniane, Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, and Nefrid, bishop of Narbonne, to investigate and refute the doctrine in the southern provinces bordering on Spain. They conferred with Felix, and promised him a fair and free discussion

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 73-78.

if he would attend the council at Aix-la-Chapelle in 799. Here he met Alcuin in debate before the king, and declared himself convinced, but it was probably rather more by the gentle and devout character of Alcuin than by his argument. Felix, however, was not allowed to return to his bishopric, but placed under the oversight of the archbishop of Lyons, where he remained until his death, in 818. But although he gave up the use of his peculiar phraseology, Agobard, Leidrad's successor, found among his papers undoubted evidence that he still retained the principles for which he had so earnestly contended. For a time, however, the controversy was stilled.

A third controversy, of a much more extended significance, was that relating to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It has been noticed already that a Spanish council, held at Toledo in 589, on the occasion of the conversion from Arianism of the Visigothic king, Reccared, inserted in the Nicene Creed the words "And from the Son" (*filioque*), after the words expressing belief in the Holy Ghost, "who proceedeth from the Father." This addition, together with the question of image worship, was discussed in a synod, at which both Greek and Roman delegates were present, held at Gentilly in 767, during the reign of Pippin, probably in order to effect a closer union between the Eastern and Western churches, but apparently without arriving at any decision on the points at issue.[1]

[1] "Ann. Einhardi," an. 767; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 145; Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 124–134; Ep. 36, 37.

Charles accordingly took up the matter, and at his direction Alcuin wrote a treatise in which he favored the addition. On this account a monk of Jerusalem made a vehement attack at the Frankish congregation on the Mount of Olives, and declared that all the Franks were heretics. They immediately reported the whole affair to Pope Leo in a very striking and interesting letter,[1] and he forwarded the letter with one of his own to Charles, significantly remarking that he replied to the monks by sending them an authentic copy of the true creed, which of course did not contain the addition.[2]

Charles then issued another treatise written by Theodulf of Orleans, and introduced the question for discussion at the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 809. The question not being settled at this time, Bernharius, bishop of Wörms, and Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, were sent to Rome to lay the matter before the pope.[3] Leo admitted the truth of the doctrine, but did not wish to change the form in which the creed was chanted in the services of the church, and recommended that the word be dropped as not necessary for them and very obnoxious to the Greeks. In order to give additional force to his suggestions, he caused the Nicene Creed in both Greek and Latin to be engraved on two silver tablets, and set up in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, with the words, "I, Leo, have

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 382–385; Ep. Carol., 22.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 386; Ep. Carol., 23.
[3] "Ann. Einhardi," ann. 809; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 196.

set this up in token of my love and protection of the orthodox faith." Yet the addition favored by Charles was used throughout the western part of the empire, and at last was adopted throughout the Latin Church as it is to-day.

It is in recognition of this great truth that the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, one of the grandest of the old Latin hymns of the Middle Ages, was composed, and holds such an honored place in the services of the church. The Church of England and the Episcopal Church in this country have retained it in the service for the ordination of priests and in that for the consecration of bishops. The last stanza is most significant :

> " Teach us to know the Father, Son,
> And Thee of both to be but One."

or more literally translated :

> " By Thee, may we the Father know,
> By Thee, confess the Son,
> In Thee, the Holy Ghost from both
> Believe, all time to come."

A popular tradition, founded, however, on critical investigation, for a long time ascribed the composition of this beautiful hymn to Charles himself, and this view is still defended by many, but later discoveries have led to the conclusion that it was really composed by Rabanus Maurus, who, as we have seen, was commissioned by Charles to write a treatise on the subject. This hymn is found in a very old and authoritative manuscript of his works,

and is a complete poetic outline of his treatise, while a peculiar expression alluding to the Holy Spirit as "the finger of God's right hand" is found in both.[1]

[1] Duffield, pp. 116–122.

CHAPTER XXIV.

POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICERS—THE METROPOLITANATE—ECCLESIASTICAL REGULATIONS AND REFORM—CHRODEGANG AND THE CANONICAL LIFE—BENEDICT OF ANIANE AND MONASTICISM—THE SUPREMACY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH—THE MODEL.

THIS close relationship of church and state made the ecclesiastical officers of great political importance, as we have already seen in connection with the conquest of Saxony, as well as in the institution of the royal commissioners. When Charles succeeded his father a beginning had been made of the regular system. The work of Boniface had already laid a strong foundation,[1] but the newly created bishoprics and ecclesiastical centres necessitated a still further arrangement and order. This was effected largely through the metropolitan system. In one of the first laws it was laid down that suffragan bishops should be subject to the metropolitan according to the canons, and that they should change and improve what might need improving. It was further

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 25; "Karlmanni Capit.," c. 4, 742 A.D.

decreed that where a vacancy occurred, or where no bishop had been consecrated, a bishop should be established without delay, and while true monks, called regulars, should live according to their rule, the bishop must live according to the canons, having power over the priests, deacons, and others of the clerical order belonging to his diocese.[1] Thus the characteristic features of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were laid down, not that anything new was introduced, but only what the church for a long time needed, and what had already been carried into execution in the South and East, although in the Frankish Kingdom this organization received additional strength through the power and authority of the king. The detailed order, as presented in the general admonition of the year 789, on the basis of the Dionysian collection of canons, covered all the various relations of the church and completed this new arrangement for the Franks.[2]

In the German part of the kingdom Mainz became the chief centre, and Lull, the successor of Boniface, received the pall in 780, while his successor exercised a general supervision over the greater number of the German bishops. Indeed, in the middle of the ninth century Mainz is called the metropolitanate of Germany.[3] In Cologne, Hildibald, the chaplain of Charles, held archiepiscopal dignity, Utrecht and Lüttich being under him, and later a large part of the Saxon Church, while Paderborn, Verden, and

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 47; "Capit. Harist.," c. 1–4, 779 A.D.
[2] See above, pp. 227–231.
[3] "Ann. Fuld," an. 852; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 367.

the Eastphalian churches were under Mainz. Hamburg was not established until later, and then exercised supervison over the Scandinavian churches. In Bavaria, Salzburg exercised metropolitan powers. The re-establishment of ecclesiastical councils, supported by the authority of the king, tended to greater unity and to a stronger organization. The leading enactment on this subject is found in the capitulary of Frankfort, of 794: "It is enacted by our lord the king and the holy synod that bishops shall exercise jurisdiction in their dioceses. If any abbot, presbyter, deacon, archdeacon, monk, or other cleric, or indeed any one else in the diocese does not obey his bishop, let them come to their metropolitan, and he shall judge the case together with his suffragans. Our counts shall also come to the court of the bishops, and if there be anything which the metropolitan cannot set right, then let the accusers and the accused both come to us with letters from the metropolitan, that we may know the truth of the matter." [1] It was also ordered that the parish clergy should report once or twice a year to the bishops, and the bishops to the metropolitan, and among the duties of the royal commissioners was the investigation of the administration of the bishops, their aids and assistants in the several parishes, and their ability in zeal and in learning.[2]

Thus the metropolitans represented the unity of the national church and formed a strong support for political unity, while the coalition of the two, the

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 74, 75; "Synod. Franc.," § 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 45; "Capit. Prim.," § 8, p. 53.

temporal prince and the ecclesiastical metropolitan, enabled each to support the other. Among the Western Franks, Rheims attained the greatest power and the widest influence, especially under Hincmar, who stood forth as the defender of the church against the insubordination of bishops and the encroachments of the pope. In Germany, though there were several positions of archiepiscopal importance, Mainz represented the unity of the German Church and claimed the primacy, holding a most important position in strengthening the civil power and keeping up the unity and independence through the great influence of the archbishop on the administration of the empire.

In the old Austrasia, the lands of the Moselle, it was only gradually that a formal and definite system was introduced. For a long time the bishop of Metz held the title of archbishop, although Treves early appeared as the chief city of the territory, and took a prominent place in ecclesiastical affairs. Its position was finally recognized, and the bishop of Treves became the metropolitan for Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

The reception of the pallium or pall from the pope as the special mark of the archiepiscopal dignity early appears, but with the consent, indeed by the will, of the Frankish king, and there are instances in which it was awarded to others than the metropolitan.[1]

The original metropolitan system was an institution especially connected with the Roman imperial

[1] Hinschius, K. R., vol. ii., p. 7. See Waitz, vol. iii., p. 420.

organization where the civil metropolis was also the ecclesiastical centre, but the barbarian invasions destroyed all these relations, and many of the ancient cities of great importance were either ruined or lost their old pre-eminence. Attempts were made by Karlmann and Pippin in 742[1] and in 755,[2] and by Charles in 789[3] and 794[4] to re-establish metropolitan centres, and to restore to metropolitans their ancient privileges, but, as we have seen before, these attempts based the supremacy of certain sees on more or less artificial grounds and were not destined to be permanently successful—in fact, the disorganization of the metropolitan system dates from the close of the ninth century.

The nomination of a bishop was practically in the hands of Charles and his successors. In some few instances the right of free election was recognized, but even here the king still retained much of his influence, and in important cases, as, for example, in the election of the archbishop of Ravenna, he sent a deputy to take care of his interests.[5] Louis the Pious promised free elections,[6] but continued to exercise a very strong influence, and the right of confirmation was more strongly maintained than ever. Furthermore, a bishop could be deposed by the cooperation at least of the civil power,[7] although a church council was legally required to pass judg-

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 25; "Cap. Karlm.," c. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33; "Con. Vern.," c. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 54; "Admon. Gen.," c. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75; "Syn. Franc.," c. 6.
[5] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 266; Ep. 88, A.D. 788.
[6] Boretius, vol. i., p. 276; "Cap. Eccles.," c. 2, A.D. 818.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 95; "Cap. Miss.," c. 19, A.D. 802.

ment. One was removed by Charles without assigning any definite cause,[1] and one who was formally condemned by a synod to lose his office Charles restored.[2]

The general influence of bishops in cities and districts was not as significant as in early times, though their power continually grew by increase of property and by the acquisition of important rights. Nor was it diminished by their participation in state affairs, or by the way in which secular concerns came to be considered in reference to their appointments. In other respects, however, their power was diminishing. A large number of religious communities, especially the most important ones, obtained special privileges from the pope, and even from the bishops themselves, by which they were gradually withdrawn from episcopal supervision. Different classes of secular priests also were released for one reason or another from the control of the bishops, some by right of patronage, others as royal or domestic chaplains, others as rural deans or archpresbyters, and others as canons of a cathedral chapter. A large part of the ecclesiastical property, however, still remained in the possession of the nobles, who in the earlier periods of strife and confusion had been able to seize it, or had received it by way of a loan which was more in the interest of the king than of the church. In some cases also they almost acquired a right of disposal over the bishopric itself. Charles laid special weight on the

[1] "Mon. Sangall.," bk. i., c. 6; Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 637.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., p. 75; "Syn. Franc.," c. 9, A.D. 794.

political activity of the bishops in the administration of the kingdom, and in some cases they held almost an oversight over the carrying out of important political regulations ;[1] but the increase of their political and civil power led to the necessity of making a sharper distinction in position and functions between them and the counts with whom strifes arose through envy.[2] Louis went so far as to order the bishop to make a report regarding the count, and the count regarding the bishop, in order that he might find out how each fulfilled his office.[3] The church, however, opposed this too intimate union of spiritual and secular business. The clergy, therefore, had to guard as much as possible against the encroachments of the secular power and secure its aid as much as possible, but the secular nobles used their power more for the injury than for the support and furtherance of monasteries and churches.

From very early times subordinate bishops had been appointed in the East, and the custom had been introduced into the Frankish kingdom. These bishops were partly those going about without any fixed diocese, partly such as were assistants to individual bishops and took the name of the earlier bishops appointed for remote country districts with whom they seemed to have had nothing in common except the name. These were called *chorepiscopi* (country bishops). But the church had already made earnest efforts to do away with the institution,

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 70 ; "Cap. de part. Sax.," c. 34, A.D. 782.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 161 ; "Cap. tract.," c. 1, 2, 5 and 6, A.D. 811.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 305 ; "Admon. ad omnes," c. 14, A.D. 823.

and with the attempt to establish better order in the Frankish church under the influence of Boniface, orders were given to limit them in their activity.[1] Under Charles the old church laws against them were repeated,[2] and although some were kept as substitutes for the bishops,[3] they engaged in political much more than in ecclesiastical affairs, but they continued to exercise their influence down to the middle of the century, although strong objections were raised against them, first in the West Frankish kingdom, and they finally disappeared.[4]

Ecclesiastical reform not only appears as one of the most important subjects of legislation in the capitularies of Charles, but was sought also through two direct agencies. The first was the "canonical life," introduced by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, 742–766, among his cathedral clergy, which was confirmed, taken up and extended by Charles.[5] This rule or canon was the application of the monastic rule of St. Benedict to the clergy associated with the bishop in his cathedral, with the omission of the vow of poverty.[6] Chrodegang built a large and commodious dwelling, in which all the clergy of his cathedral church were obliged to live, pray, work, eat, and sleep under his constant supervision. A fixed rule assigned to each his portion of food and

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 25, 29, 35 and 41; "Cap. Karlm.," c. 4, A.D. 742; "Cap. Suess.," c. 5, A.D. 744; "Con. Vern.," c. 13, A.D. 755; "Decret. Verm.," c. 14, A.D. 758.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., p. 45; "Cap. Karoli. M.," c. 4, A.D. 769.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55; "Admon. Gen.," c. 9, 19, A.D. 789.
[4] Waitz, vol. iii., p. 431.
[5] Boretius, vol. i., p. 60; "Admon. Gen.," c. 73, A.D. 789.
[6] Hatch, pp. 157–172.

drink, and at appointed hours (the canonical hours) they came together for prayer and singing, and at regular times they gathered in the hall where the bishop, or some one appointed by him, read a chapter from the Bible, with explanations, exhortations, and reproofs. The hall was therefore called the chapter house, and the name "chapter" was given to the whole body together there. The colleges were a subsequent development of a chapter in non-episcopal city churches. Under Louis the Pious this rule was formally adopted and enforced for the whole kingdom,[1] but soon after the canons, as the members of a cathedral chapter were called, endeavored to emancipate themselves from the control of the bishops, and were able in many cases to maintain a more or less independent position.[2]

The other reform was the revival of the monastic rule of Benedict, brought about through the efforts of Benedict of Aniane, the son of a Visigothic count, and who had served as a soldier under Charles the Great. In 779 he founded in Languedoc the monastery of Aniane, and became a very powerful and intimate counsellor of Louis the Pious. The main principles of his rule were set forth under his direction in a capitulary issued by Louis in 816.[3]

Charles showed a deep and strong interest, often expressing itself in definite and determined action, not only in the larger and external interests of the church, but in the minutest details of its internal

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 276; "Cap. Eccles.," c. 3; "Ann. Lauriss. Min.," an. 816; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 122.
[2] Chastel, vol. iii., pp. 172, 173.
[3] "Ann. Lauriss. Min.," an. 816; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 122.

life and discipline. He regarded the Church of Rome with the highest veneration, not only on account of his personal relations with the pope, and the fact that the Church of Rome was the only apostolic see in the West, but also on account of the strength and completeness of its order and tradition. The supremacy of the Roman See was formally asserted, and apparently accepted in a letter written by Hadrian to Charles in the latter part of the century. The following striking passages appear : " Be it far from us to doubt your royal power which has striven not for the diminishing, but for the exaltation of your spiritual mother, the holy Roman Church, and which extended among all nations will remain consecrated and exalted until the end." " For we do not raise the question as to any one being ignorant of how great authority has been granted to the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles and to his most holy see, inasmuch as this church has the divine right of judging in all things, nor is it permitted to any to pass judgment on its judgment, for the right of absolving those bound by the decisions of any belongs to the pontiffs of the see of the blessed Apostle Peter, through whom the care of the whole church devolves upon the one see of Peter, and nothing ever can be separated from its head. For as your divinely preordained and supreme excellency has shown such love for the head of the whole world, the holy Roman Church and its ruler and chief, so the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, has granted you, together with your most excellent queen, our daughter, and your most

noble children, to enjoy the rule of a long reign and in the future the unbroken serenity of victory."[1] Already in 764 Paul I. had declared the Roman Church to be "the holy spiritual mother, the head of all the churches of God."[2] Charles accordingly recognized the Church of Rome as his model for the internal arrangements connected with the rules of discipline and of worship. He received from Hadrian in 774 a copy of the Dionysian canons in force at Rome,[3] also a copy of the Sacramentary of Gregory,[4] and two singers to introduce the Roman method of chanting into the Frankish Church.[5] The laws of marriage throughout the realm were also made to conform with those in force at Rome, and the benediction of a priest was made necessary to its legality.

The position of the church and the rights and privileges of the clergy were maintained, and later steadily increased by royal authority. Payment of tithes to the church was enforced even in newly acquired territory,[6] a parish received an endowment of house and land free of rent and taxes, and provided with servants in proportion to the population.[7] The church continued to increase its landed possessions, and large estates passed under the control of bishops and abbots, who now became an integral

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 285–292; Ep. 98, 784–791 A.D.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 132; Ep. 37, 764 A.D.
[3] Abel-Simson, vol. i., pp. 179, 180.
[4] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 273; Ep. 92, 784–791 A.D.
[5] "Ann. Lauriss.," an. 787; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 170; Boretius, vol. i., p. 61; "Admon. Gen.," c. 80, A.D. 789.
[6] Boretius, vol. i., p. 69; "Capit. de part. Sax.," c. 17.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 69, "Capit. de part. Sax.," c. 15.

part of the feudal system, and to whom many immunities and even regalia were granted.[1]

To such an extent had these temporal possessions and feudal holdings increased that all prelates were obliged to keep advocates to transact the secular affairs incompatible with their spiritual calling.[2] They often served in the wars in spite of the general laws against bearing arms, and it was necessary to issue very severe laws expressly prohibiting the clergy from serving in war or being present on the field of battle, except in the numbers required for religious services.[3] Though the clergy were exempted more and more from the jurisdiction of the secular courts, Charles continued to be the supreme judge of all clergymen, even bishops.[4]

All the kings after Pippin more than once attempted in their laws to preserve to the church its immunities, and if later the church had to complain of any violation, it was due not so much to the kings as to the officers and secular princes who paid little regard to the liberties and privileges granted to the church, and often claimed, if not the church property itself, at least the use of it. Sometimes, however, these immunities were granted by princes and dukes themselves and defended by them. It is almost impossible to determine the historical origin of many of the immunities granted to monasteries

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 165; "Cap. de rebus exerc.," c. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 172; "Cap. Aquisgr.," c. 14.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 107, 243; "Cap. Miss. Sp.," c. 37; "Cap. a Sac.," c. 18; "Ghaerb. Cap.," c. 3.
[4] Boretius, vol. i., p. 56; "Admon. Gen.," c. 38, p. 77; "Synod Francon," c. 30, 39, p. 103; "Cap. Miss.," c. 17, p. 176; "Cap. de just.," c. 2, p. 196; "Cap. Mant.," c. 1, p. 190.

and bishoprics on account of the number of forged or falsified documents. Under Pippin and Charles and their immediate successors the usual provisions of the grant were about the same as in the later Merovingian times—viz., that no public officer should enter upon the estate or property of an ecclesiastical foundation either to make a judicial inquiry, or to levy any tax, or to quarter or provide for soldiers, or to take bail, or to hold the people responsible to justice in any way.

Sometimes, however, the privileges are declared with reference only to unjust exactions, as if all levies were not excluded, and some instances occur in which the king's officers were obliged to act. In single instances exception is made where the king's officers have the right to levy a tax in case of special need ; usually, however, in such cases the church is allowed to collect the tax by its own officers.[1] The bishops also investigated crimes and administered justice in their own dioceses assisted by the counts,[2] but here also, as in political affairs, a gradual separation began to take place between the clergy and laity in the courts and in the general administration of justice. The ecclesiastical courts as they existed earlier stood for purely ecclesiastical cases, but had gradually extended their activity, thus limiting the secular courts. Even the clergy themselves became more and more subject to these courts, and the decrees which earlier church councils had made in

[1] Waitz, vol. iv., pp. 297–302.

[2] Boretius, vol. i., p. 170 ; "Capit. Aquis.," c. 1, A.D. 813 ; p. 190, "Cap. Mant.," c. 6, A.D. 781 ; cf. p. 25, "Cap. Karlm.," c. 5, A.D. 742.

their favor now received civil recognition and enforcement. Monks especially were forbidden to go to secular courts or to hold trials outside of their monastery[1] or to engage in secular affairs.[2] Even civil actions between the clergy must be settled before the bishop,[3] and cases between a cleric and a layman before a bishop and a count.[4]

This extension of episcopal jurisdiction over ecclesiastics deprived the secular officers of much of their power over the church and all that belonged to it, and transferred the judicial authority to the heads of the ecclesiastical establishments, and consequently in this important sphere of the administration of justice the power of the church was greatly increased and the way prepared for still further extensions of its power.

Under Louis the continuance of civil disturbances and the higher authority, often oppressive and overbearing, exercised by the metropolitans, led the bishops to make a stronger assertion of the supremacy of the church in order to free it from the temporal control, which had ministered to their support under Charles, but now left them weakened and defenceless. Already there was evident a strong determination to acknowledge the Roman See as the centre and head of the church, and its natural support and defence against the encroachments and aggravating interference of the civil power, which

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 60; "Admon. Gen.," c. 73, A.D. 789; p. 75, "Syn. Franc.," c. 11, A.D. 797.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., p. 64; "Dupl. leg.," c. 30, A.D. 789.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 56; "Adm. Gen.," c. 28, A.D. 789.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77; "Syn. Franc.," c. 30, A.D. 794.

seemed no longer able to accomplish the much-needed reforms. The Sardican canons[1] were recalled, and the bishop was allowed the right of appeal in any and all cases, directly over the metropolitan and the provincial synods, to the bishop of Rome. Benedict of Levite, in his enlarged edition of the capitularies, inserted the Sardican decrees, and made the still wider application, which reached its fullest expression in the Forged Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore. This tendency was still further strengthened by the action of the civil government in calling the papal authority to its aid, even ascribing to it additional powers for the settlement of ecclesiastical disputes and even of political difficulties.

Thus the papal power was greatly increased on every side, and these advantages the pope was in the most favorable position to grasp. We may therefore see in the early part of the ninth century the gradual establishment of that new ecclesiastical polity to which the Forged Decretals succeeded in imparting the one thing needful—an historical basis manufactured for the purpose.

[1] Hefele, vol. ii., pp. 112–129, canons 3–6, allowing a bishop to appeal to Pope Julius in case of condemnation by the other bishops in his province who might be suspected of Arian or Eusebian leanings.

CHAPTER XXV.

CLOSING YEARS—ATTEMPTS AT CONSOLIDATION—FOREIGN RELATIONS—LATER WARS—DISTRIBUTION OF KINGDOMS—DEATH OF THE OLDER SONS, PIPPIN AND CHARLES—LAST WILL—ELECTION AND CORONATION OF LOUIS AS CO-EMPEROR — DEATH OF CHARLES THE GREAT — CANONIZATION — SPECIAL COLLECT FOR HIS DAY, JANUARY 28—THE GREAT WORK WHICH HE ACCOMPLISHED.

DURING the closing years of his life Charles was largely occupied in the consolidation of the empire and the administration of its affairs. After his coronation he made a general revision of the different customs and codes of law of the several people united under his rule.[1] The personality of law still prevailed according to which each person, wherever he might be, must be judged and dealt with according to the law of his own people. The Franks, Salian and Ripuarian, each had their own law, also the Saxons, Frisians, Goths, Burgundians, Alemannians, Bavarians, Lombards, and the Ro-

[1] "Ann. Lauresh," an. 802; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 39.

mans. The confusion and difficulties engendered when all these were joined together in one great empire can be imagined better than described. "So great a diversity of laws prevailed that it was in not only single districts and cities, but even in many houses, for it sometimes happened that five men might be walking or sitting together, and not one of them have a law common to one of the others." [1] The difficulties confronting a ruler under such conditions were enormous. Under Louis the Pious there was a thought of uniting all under one law. Of course not as easy politically as ecclesiastically, but since all were united in one faith under the one law of Christ, members of one church, they might also be included under one and the same secular law, but the thought found no further realization. Charles, indeed, tried to establish order and to unify the principles of his administration, and the immense number of his capitularies attest his zeal and earnestness, but his attempt could not succeed. "In spite of the unity and activity of his thought and power, disorder was all about him, immense, invincible. He repressed it a moment at one point, but the evil ruled wherever his terrible will did not reach, and then in the very place through which he had passed it began again as soon as he had departed." [2]

His foreign relations have a more romantic interest. Since he considered himself the champion of the Christians who were under foreign rule, he was

[1] Agobard, "Adv. leg. Gund.," c. 4.
[2] Guizot, lecture xx.

brought into closest relations with the great Mahometan power, and without coming into hostile relations with the rulers, especially the caliphs of the East, or even without showing any difference in diplomatic intercourse between them and other foreign princes. He established, however, his place as head and representative of Christianity, and knew how to make it recognized in peaceable ways. It was probably on this account that in his foreign relations the bishop of Rome, the spiritual head of the West, came into intimate relations with him. The pope lent his aid in the overthrow of Tassilo, and also in the contest with the duke of Benevento. He also aided Charles in restoring Eardulf, the Northumbrian king.[1] He confirmed the treaty made with the Greek emperor in 812,[2] and even in domestic affairs he subscribed the important document concerning the division of the kingdom among the sons of Charles in 806, and the conditions under which this should take place,[3] and when later under Louis the Pious it came to an open breach and contest between the emperor and his sons regarding the regulation of the succession and other questions therewith connected, the pope was brought over the Alps in order to give preponderance and victory to the party of the sons. In all that belonged to the kingdom he took a high place, and much depended upon his co-operation in other than purely ecclesiastical concerns. However, he never attained any

[1] "Ann. Einhardi," an. 808 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 195.
[2] *Ibid.*, an. 812 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 199.
[3] *Ibid.*, an. 806 ; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 193.

definite right in giving regular counsel or even in the final determination in religious affairs.[1] Among the most interesting of the foreign relations were those with Haroun Al Raschid, the caliph of Bagdad, better known to us as the hero of the "Arabian Nights." These two great monarchs, the caliph of the great Mahometan power of the East and the emperor of the great Christian nations of the West, were on the most intimate terms of friendship, and frequent messengers and ambassadors passed between them. Einhard tells us "that this prince preferred the favor of Charles to that of all the kings and potentates of the earth, and considered that to him alone marks of honor and munificence were due. Accordingly when the ambassadors sent by Charles to visit the most holy sepulchre and place of resurrection of our Lord and Saviour presented themselves before him with gifts, and made known their master's wishes, he not only granted what was asked, but gave possession of that holy and blessed spot. When they returned he dispatched his ambassadors with them and sent magnificent gifts, besides stuffs, perfumes, and other rich products of the Eastern land. A few years before this Charles had asked for an elephant, and the caliph sent the only one that he had."[2] The chroniclers make a special record of the coming of this elephant, and even gave his name, Abul-Abbas,

[1] As, for example, in connection with the Image controversy, the Frankfort Synod, the Caroline Books, and the *Filioque* clause.

[2] Einhard, "Vita," c. 16.

meaning "Father of Destruction."[1] He died in 810.[2]

Charles liked foreigners, and was at great pains to take them under his protection, and there were at all times large numbers of them in his kingdom and about his court. His relations with the English Bretwalda Offa of Mercia were very friendly, and he guaranteed protection to the English pilgrims and merchants passing through the realm.[3] At one time negotiations were carried on by his son Charles for the hand of Offa's daughter, but these were finally broken off.[4]

About a year before his coronation he had sent one of the court clergy as bearer of his bounty to the holy places of the East. His messenger returned to Rome at about the time of the coronation accompanied by two Eastern monks, sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem. As evidence of his high regard for the king he sent by them his benediction and the keys of the holy sepulchre of Mount Calvary, of the city of Jerusalem and of Mount Zion, together with a standard[5] conferring upon him an honorary supremacy over the holy city and placing it under his protection.[6]

Most of the wars of this later period were carried

[1] "Ann. Einhardi," an. 802; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 190; "Ann. Lauresh.," an. 802; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 39; "Chron. Moiss.," an. 802, M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 307.

[2] *Ibid.*, an. 810, p. 197.

[3] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 357, 358; Ep. Carol. 11, A.D. 796; "Letter to Offa, King of the Mercians." Translated by Mombert, pp. 335, 336.

[4] Abel-Simson, vol. ii., pp. 7, 8, 475.

[5] "Ann. Lauriss.," an. 800, M. G. SS., p. 188.

[6] Waitz, vol. iii., p. 186.

on under or in the name of the emperor's sons. Pippin at the age of four had been crowned king of Italy, and at the same time his brother Louis, one year younger, was crowned king of Aquitania, though both reigned under a guardian, *baiulus*, but Charles continued to be the real ruler, receiving reports and giving instructions even in regard to the minutest details, and sending his commissioners from time to time, just as in the rest of the empire. At the age of nine Pippin accompanied his father in the campaign against Benevento, and in the following year, 787, is said to have led one of the armies against Tassilo, the refractory duke of the Bavarians. In 791 he headed the Italian forces in the campaign against the Avars, on which occasion Louis, who had reached his thirteenth year, was publicly acknowledged as a warrior and formally invested with a sword. Soon after Pippin sent back word of a great victory over the Avars, and continued the warfare against them, while Louis was with his father in the North subduing the Saxons, though both joined Pippin in the latter part of the war. After the conquest of the Avars, Charles, the oldest son, whose mother was Himiltrud, entered upon a campaign against the Bohemians, who threatened the frontier along the boundary of the newly conquered Avars. He then, in 806, proceeded against the Sarabians far in the North, between the Saale and Elbe, and by the death of their leader forced them to submit.[1] In the meanwhile the Arabs took advantage of these exploits in the North and East

[1] "Ann. Einhardi," an. 806; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 193.

and invaded Septimania. Several contests with them followed, and Louis was engaged from time to time in warding off their piratical attacks, though they killed many Christians and secured much booty.[1]

There is a tradition, we are told, that the Emir determined to devote the spoils taken in war against the Christians to the erection of a splendid mosque at Cordova. Not content with the glory of building it with Christian money, he determined that it should stand on Christian soil, and for that purpose caused sacks filled with earth from the battlefield of Villedaigne to be carried on the shoulders of his Christian prisoners of war to Cordova, and the foundations of the Mahometan temple were laid in that earth. "If the statement is true," says Mombert, "the fate of that mosque points the lesson of the instability of the things below, for the mosque is now the Cathedral of Cordova."[2]

The domestic affairs of the kingdoms of these young kings were not always administered with ability and integrity, and Charles found himself obliged to interfere on account of the corrupt administration of the kingdom of Louis, whose officers had diverted the crown property and land to their own uses, and had reduced the young and inexperienced king to a state of poverty. Charles immediately appointed special commissioners to recover the royal domains and apply the revenue to the use of the crown, introducing also certain reforms which

[1] "Ann. Moiss.," an. 793; M. G. SS., p. 300.
[2] Mombert, pp. 291, 292.

might strengthen the position of Louis, but great caution was followed in order not to alienate the nobles from their king. Louis usually spent the summer months with his father, but the city of Toulouse, where his general assemblies were held, was nominally his permanent residence.

In 806 Charles made a formal distribution of the kingdoms of the empire, the object being to strengthen the power by distributing the control, allowing a harmonious and uniform development of the several parts, and avoiding the distractions which might follow civil strife if either of the sons were left without territory. The brothers were to unite in the maintenance of each other's police regulations, in the common defence against enemies at home or abroad, and in the care and protection of the Roman Church. Without going into details, we may note that to Louis was assigned Aquitania, Vasconia, the southern part of Burgundy, Provence, Septimania, and Gothia; to Pippin, Lombardy, Bavaria, and the territory on the southern bank of the Danube from its source to the Rhine. To Charles was given all the rest—Austrasia, Neustria, Thuringia, Saxony, Frisia, part of Burgundy, part of Alemannia, and part of Bavaria. It is to be noted that only three sons are mentioned whose right of inheritance is acknowledged, and most surprising of all, that no mention is made of the City of Rome or of the imperial title and authority. In other respects, however, the document is not of much importance, for its provisions were never carried out. After the division Pippin and Louis re-

turned to their dominions; Louis to continue the struggle against the Saracens in the South, and Pippin the defence of his possessions against the Moors, who were attacking Corsica and Sardinia. The relations of Pippin and Leo were not very friendly,[1] perhaps on account of their too great nearness, but the danger to the papacy, whatever it might have been, was averted by the death of Pippin in 810. Pippin left one son, Bernhard, who was sent by Charles to be educated by Rabanus Maurus, in the monastery of Fulda, and in 812 he was sent into Italy as king in his father's place.[2] In the year of Pippin's death occurred a great invasion by the Northmen, the Danes, but they were driven back, Charles himself taking the field against them with a large army, and it was not until the middle of the century, after the death of Charles and of his son Louis, that they finally entered within the boundaries of the empire, and not until the beginning of the next century did they effect a settlement and found the Duchy of Normandy, although England during all this time suffered from their invasions.

Charles, the oldest son mentioned in the division of 806, died in 811. He had been most intimately associated with his father in all his affairs, and to him had been given the Duchy of Maine in 789, probably with the title of king.[3] It was the same territory which once King Pippin had given to his

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 310; Leonis, iii., Ep. 1, A.D. 808.
[2] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 812, 813, 814; M. G. SS., vol. i., pp. 199, 200, 201.
[3] "Ann. Mett.," an. 789; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 176.

brother Grifo,[1] and which later, 838, Louis the Pious gave to his son Charles the Bald.[2] Charles was also the son who was crowned and anointed with his father by Pope Leo III. at the imperial coronation in 800. It is probable that this signified his father's intention to bestow upon him the imperial crown, but there seems to be no further evidence of this, and, as we have seen, in the proposed division of the kingdom, Italy was given to Pippin without any mention of the imperial dignity.

Meanwhile the emperor had grown old, though still vigorous and active intellectually and physically. The capitularies of his later days, both in number and in character, show no decline in administrative ability, and his campaigns against the Danes, although not requiring any fighting, gave evidence of his martial spirit, while hunting in the forest of Ardennes was still his favorite occupation. At last he felt the end was near. He had divided his kingdom in 806, and in 811 he had made his will;[3] but now only one son, Louis, the king of Aquitania, was left, and him he summoned to his imperial palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here Louis spent the summer of 813, receiving instructions and advice regarding the empire and its administration.[4]

In September the general assembly was held, and an important capitulary was issued. Charles commended Louis to the nobles and ecclesiastics and all

[1] "Ann. Mett.," an. 749; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 331.
[2] "Prud. Trec. Ann.," an. 838; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 432.
[3] Einhard, "Vita Karoli.," c. 33. Translated by Mombert, pp. 453–457.
[4] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 873; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 200.

the people present, and charged them to be faithful to him as emperor if they would bestow the title upon him. They answered his appeal with a unanimous shout, and pronounced him worthy to be their emperor. On Sunday, September 11th, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, clad in his imperial robes and wearing his magnificent crown, Charles advanced to the altar and placed thereon the new crown for his son; both knelt in prayer; after which Charles delivered a solemn charge to the young emperor. He bade him, above all things, fear and love God and keep his commandments, and govern well the church and protect her from her enemies. He exhorted him to show a tender regard for his kinsmen, for the priests and for the people, and to watch over the poor. He advised him to receive into his confidence only faithful ministers, God-fearing and opposed to corruption. He bade him to do justice and love mercy, and in all things to be an example to his people. Louis replied that he would obey these precepts of his father with the help of God. Then Charles bade him take with his own hands the crown from the altar and place it upon his head, and he handed to him the imperial sceptre.[1]

Charles then commanded him to be proclaimed emperor and Augustus, and the multitude exclaimed, "Long life to Emperor Louis!" Charles then declared Louis joint emperor with himself, and concluded with the ascription of praise: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, for that thou hast granted me grace

[1] Thegan, "De Gestis Ludow. Pii," c. 6.

this day to see with my own eyes my son seated on my throne." [1] Shortly after this Louis returned to Aquitania, and his father passed the autumn in hunting, returning about November 1st. The winter was very severe, and in the month of January Charles had a violent attack of fever, which increased in violence, and was accompanied by pleurisy, warning him of his speedy end. He immediately sent for his archchaplain and intimate friend, Hildibald, archbishop of Cologne, who administered to him the sacrament and prepared him for death. On the following morning, Saturday, summoning all his strength, he stretched out his right hand, signed himself with the sign of the cross, first on his forehead and then over his whole body, and at last, joining his hands across his breast, he closed his eyes, and with the words, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," he breathed his last at nine o'clock on the morning of January 28th, 814. He was buried with all magnificence in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle. Through the earnest endeavors of the Emperor Frederick I. and King Henry II. of England, Charles was canonized by the consent and authority of the anti-pope, Paschal, an act which was sanctioned, however, by the rightful pope, Alexander III. "The Roman Church observes his day on January 28th, and the special collect used at Minden and elsewhere reads as follows: 'O God, who in the superabounding plenitude of thy goodness hast exalted the blessed Charles the Great,

[1] Einhard, "Vita," c. 30; "Chron. Moiss.," an. 813; M.G. SS., vol. i., pp. 310, 311.

Emperor and thy Confessor, after having laid aside the veil of the flesh, to the glory of a blissful immortality, mercifully grant that as thou didst raise him for the praise and glory of thy Name to imperial honor upon earth, so of thy grace we may be found worthy ever to enjoy his pious and propitious intercession in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' " [1]

The great work of Charles was ended. Not to make great conquests, whose possession should remain in the care and keeping of his descendants for long generations; not to found an enduring empire over which his successors might rule in unbroken peace and serenity; not even to establish a system of laws which should remain the possession of Europe, nor to found institutions which should endure long after he had passed away; but to bring the entire German people into one great whole for a period long enough for their development in civilization and Christianity—to form, as it were, a great imperial university for such a training of the German nation in learning, in civilization, in the principles of the Christian faith, and in the morals of the Christian religion. More than this, for weal or for woe he had made possible the establishment of feudalism, out of which were to grow the free cities and the great monarchies of Europe; and, above all else, he had placed the Roman Church in a position of independence, of strength, of security, and of influence in which she might become the guide, the teacher, and the example of the West. Thus, after

[1] Mombert, pp. 487, 488; Boland, "Acta Sanct. ad Jan. 28," p. 874.

all, the greatness of Charles consists not in his famous exploits, neither in his wars nor in his laws, neither in his imperial organization and title, nor in his military generalship and victories, but in the results for civilization, for morality, and for religion which he made possible for Europe. The mighty agent through which he worked, the organization which he placed in control of these great forces, and upon which he conferred the possibility of using them, was the Christian Church, which had its head, its centre, and its chief bishop at Rome. In more than one sense his work was not complete. "An inclusion of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish territories in the union with the empire, an extension of the kingdom and of the Christian faith over the Northern Germans, an expulsion of the Mahometans from Spain and the restoration of the Christian rule in the whole extent of the peninsula—these, leaving out the problems which Africa and the East might present, were objects which a successor of Charles who wished to carry on his work could have placed before him." [1]

The constitution which he had established rested essentially upon the kingdom as it had formed itself among the German people in the time of the wanderings and conquests. The development of the feudal relations had a very great power and significance, but instead of giving a new support or a firmer coherence to the great kingdom, as Charles had hoped, it proved the greatest source of its weakness and one of the chief causes of its overthrow. It

[1] Waitz, vol. iv., p. 635.

endangered the unity instead of strengthening it, and all that Charles could do, with the summoning of all his power, was to unite it and bring it into some sort of connection with existing arrangements. Nothing resembles feudalism less than the sovereign unity to which Charles aspired, yet he was the real founder of feudalism, for by checking invasions and by repressing internal disorder, he gave to the local positions, interests, and influences time to take real possession of the land and of its inhabitants.

It was in union with the church, and in the solidarity of its members, that Charles found a principle and model for the unity of his realm. The unity of faith and of divine worship in which the people united outweighed the difference of nationality, of laws and of interests. The state took up the tendencies which the church had perfected in itself, and lent to its development the power which it possessed, and its comprehension served as a basis for something great.

CHAPTER XXVI.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE AND DEVELOPMENT—THE DARK AGES—INFLUENCE OF MONASTICISM—LEARNING IN ENGLAND—BENEDICT BISCOP—ARCHBISHOP THEODORE—HADRIAN—BEDE—ALCUIN—THE LIBRARY AT YORK.

E come now to one of the most important subjects, perhaps the most important of the whole period. It has been said that the permanent contributions made by Charles to the history of the world were the conquest of the Saxons and the establishment of schools; and it is difficult to overestimate the importance of either. His activity, however, in both of these directions left much to be worked out and carried to completion by those who came after him, but the common opinion in regard to his intellectual work needs further explanation.

In a recent most valuable work on the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, we are told most emphatically that the schools of Charles the Great were not the origin of the University of Paris. "These schools were probably migratory, and followed the person of the sovereign, like the ancient

courts of law, in his progresses through his dominions." [1] It is only by an assumption, therefore, that one can speak of the identity of the schools of the palace with the later church schools of Paris. We may believe, however, that some of the features which characterized the Parisian university system may be traced very rightly to the work of Charles, especially the intensely ecclesiastical character, the system of supervision by church authorities, and the complete identification of the scholastic with the clerical order. Undoubtedly, also, the general educational traditions, as well as intellectual inspiration, inherited by the schools of Paris, were derived ultimately from the schools of Alcuin and of Charles, but the connection cannot be traced through any single school.

The later intellectual life seems due to the general "revival of episcopal and monastic schools throughout the Frankish Empire." [2]

Through the dark ages which intervened between the age of Charles the Great and the twelfth century there were at least a few monasteries, and perhaps one or two cathedrals, where the fame of some great teacher drew students from distant lands, and where some ray of enthusiasm for the intellectual life still survived. The torch of learning, which Charles and Alcuin lighted from the fires of the Irish and English schools, never went completely out, but served in its turn to kindle the flames of knowledge after the storms and tempests of the barbarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries

[1] Rashdall, vol. i., p. 273. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 274.

had been stilled. But it is not easy to make right inferences and to form a just estimate regarding the intellectual position of these far-distant centuries. Gibbon,[1] Hallam,[2] and Robertson[3] give us indeed a gloomy picture of their intellectual life and requirements which Maitland[4] has done much to correct, while Lorenz, in his biography of Alcuin, affirms that there was "a more universal education secured to the lower classes at the conclusion of the eighth century than France can boast of in the nineteenth."[5] The ancient and classical learning of Greece and Rome had been suffering for centuries a steady decline, due, in the first instance, not to the church, for it was not yet strong enough to accomplish so much, but to the same causes that had brought about the decline of the empire.[6] A similar deterioration may be noticed in the Christian writings, comparing those of the three centuries before Augustine[7] with those of the three centuries succeeding him, when the flood of barbarism poured down upon the empire, spreading confusion, ignorance, and general demoralization everywhere. Nor was this all, for the church had been obliged from the first to condemn the social and political life all about her, and to isolate herself completely from it

[1] Gibbon, ch. lxvi., *ad fin.*
[2] Hallam, ch. ix., part 1.
[3] Robertson, introduction to the "History of the Emperor, Charles V."
[4] Maitland, "The Dark Ages."
[5] Lorenz, p. 59. This statement may be due in some measure to German prejudice against the French.
[6] Hallam, ch. ix., part 1; Adams, pp. 76–88.
[7] The fourth century has been called "the golden age of Christian literature." Chastel, vol. ii., p. 315.

on account of its being inseparably bound up with and interpenetrated by the heathen and immoral acts, sentiments, and principles which Christianity necessarily opposed with relentless zeal and uncompromising vigor. It had seemed equally necessary to ignore if not to condemn[1] that whole literature, however great and beautiful, which was so permeated with heathenism as to form, at any rate at first, an obstacle to the progress of Christianity—an obstacle which could not be subdued, but could only be thrust aside. Indeed, out of this learning had arisen, at first direct attacks, and later, rival schemes and systems of belief and conduct, and though St. Paul, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and St. Augustine showed the possibility and even the advantage of the knowledge of the literary treasure of Greece and Rome, it was felt that only giants could resist such mighty power, and the days of giants were passing away. We need only refer to the later testimony of Jerome as to the general neglect of pagan learning, and the vision which he had in his early years, accompanied by the warning words, "You are a Ciceronian, not a Christian, 'for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.'" Furthermore, as has been said, a general decline was taking place even in the classical literature and learning, that went far to justify the church's condemnation.

At the end of the seventh century, when paganism might seem to be finally suppressed, the last

[1] "Apostolic Constitutions," bk. i., ch. vi.; "Anti-Nicene Fathers," vol. vii., p. 393.

advocates and great centres of the ancient learning already had disappeared, and the capability of its appreciation already had well-nigh vanished. With the barbarian invasions and settlements of the fifth century came, at the same time, the establishment of monasticism, which had, perhaps, an even greater influence upon education and civilization than it had, at any rate in the earlier centuries, upon the church and religion.

Monasticism was of Eastern origin, and its original form partook very largely of the nature of Eastern life, to which it was closely adapted. Moreover, in the East it had its origin in connection with religions and philosophies more or less alien to the true spirit of Christianity, and was based largely on the doctrines of the duality and irreconcilable antagonism of mind and body, of the essential evil of matter as it existed in the world and in the body, and of the necessity of subduing the physical and of elevating the spiritual by absolute isolation from the world in a life of bodily mortification and spiritual contemplation in a more or less mechanical fashion. In other words, the spiritual element was to be developed and maintained by the annihilation of the physical. In the West, however, monasticism was hardly known, especially among the new peoples, except as the ally and agent of Christianity and as permeated with its spirit, and this, together with the natural difference of climate and of people, gave to it essentially different characteristics and tendencies. The redemption of the world, not the destruction of matter, but its service, subordination,

if you will, to the higher development of man, is the fundamental principle of Western monasticism. Not always consciously present, we must admit, but generally moulding and influencing Western monastic life in its higher moments.

It is for this reason that the practical element of the West, as distinct from the contemplative spirit of the East, plays such a large part in its history, and while the monks of the East, to whom their own spiritual welfare was proposed as the sole aim of existence tended to the unsocial, unproductive, unbeneficent life, the monks of the West became the cultivators of the soil, the teachers of agriculture, the preservers of letters, and the teachers and examples of the people. For just this reason, therefore, we find another theory in regard to the use and advantages of the old pagan learning, a truer reflection of the earlier spirit of St. Paul, Clement, and Origen, which the monks of the West were able to take up and to develop in the practical carrying out of that famous motto, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." So they would not condemn the old learning, but just as it seemed about to fall into decay and to perish, they rose to gather up and to protect all that remained, that nothing might be lost. The school as a place of learning, for intellectual and higher spiritual influence, was, therefore, an institution connected with monastic foundations from the very earliest times, and though at first its range of subjects was limited and its methods narrow and inadequate, it soon began to take the place of the old imperial municipal schools

which had disappeared rapidly under the attacks of the church and of the Germans.

In the more important bishoprics in connection with the preparation of candidates for the clerical order, the episcopal or cathedral schools began to attain great prominence. Learning, however, was promoted for ecclesiastical purposes, so that reading and the transcription of manuscripts were largely confined to the Scriptures and to church services, music to chanting, arithmetic and astronomy to the calculation of Easter. Worse than all, there rose the so-called fourfold system of interpreting the Scriptures, encouraging the student to depart from the plain, literal, or historical meaning of the text, and to wander amid the vagaries and caprices of the allegorical or typical and figurative, the tropological or moral and ethical, the anagogical or mystical and purely speculative meaning and interpretation, which a highly developed imagination might be able to supply.

Under such influences, theological, as well as other learning, sensibly declined, and the state to which it came in the sixth century can be readily learned from the words and writings of Gregory of Tours. Under the Merovingians, learning almost ceased to exist. It had found refuge in the church and in the monasteries, but the condition of these at the accession of Charles Martel was one of great demoralization, although at the time the material prosperity was very great, for it is estimated that at the close of the seventh century the church owned or controlled about one third of the territory of

Gaul. But the demoralization of bishops, who engaged in war, in hunting and in pleasures, and of the monks, whose discipline had become very lax, on account of their increase in wealth and of immunity from episcopal oversight and control, as well as on account of their large accessions from the lower classes, had become an open scandal.

The accession of Charles Martel had brought the bishops under secular control, but his so-called work of reformation consisted principally of wholesale seizure of church property. He regarded the resources of the church chiefly as sinews of war, or as means of enabling him to reward his officers and soldiers for military achievements.

The inroads of the Saracens completed the work of devastation in the South, although by the missionary labors of Boniface and his followers a great Christian work was done under the protection of Charles Martel, but more particularly under his sons and successors.

The revival of learning traces its origin to another source. The revival of learning, as well as the reorganization of the church and the further spread of Christianity among the rising kingdoms of the West, were due to men of Ireland and of England, acting, for the most part, under the influence and with the aid and inspiration of Rome. It was in the monasteries and schools of Ireland that learning was maintained and developed unharmed by the shock and confusion on the continent, attendant upon the fall of Rome and the invasions and settlements of the barbarians during the fifth and sixth

centuries. In the islands of the West, secluded and far from strife, Christianity and learning developed together. Special attention was given to the study of the Scriptures in the monasteries of Ireland, and ancient books of all kinds were diligently collected and copied. From here Christianity and learning spread to the Scots and Picts, and so down into Northern England. The conversion of Southern England by Augustine, and of the northern parts by Aidan soon brought the two forces together, and the English Church was united under the two great centres of York and Canterbury ; but the great inspiration and a larger life came to the church in England from Rome. The English Church, from the very form and manner of its foundation, was brought into a peculiar relation of dependence upon the Church of Rome, and this was only increased and confirmed by the decision at Whitby in 664. This relation was regarded with the greatest pride and satisfaction by the early kings and chief ecclesiastics, especially by Bede and his school, so that it continued to exist and to be still further developed. Pilgrimages by monks, nuns, bishops, nobles and princes, and even kings,[1] were made to the tomb of St. Peter at Rome. Thus the English were brought into closer relations with Rome, and this led, among other results, to the acquiring of rich additions of literature and art. When, in 668, the kings of Northumberland and of Kent had asked

[1] Ina, of Wessex, Gibbon, chap. xlix., note 36; Coenred of Mercia, Bede, bk. v., ch. xxiv.; Ceadwalla, of Wessex, A. S. Chronicle, an. 688, 709, 726, 728 ; Ethelwulf, of Wessex, A. S. Chronicle, 855. Alfred was crowned in Rome by the pope.

the pope to select and send some one fitted for the vacant See of Canterbury, Hadrian was first named. He was an African by birth, of noted scholarship, and at that time a monk or abbot of the Niridian monastery in Naples, near Monte Cassino. He had been in Gaul, but never in Britain, and the thought of the great work and responsibility appalled him. He secured, therefore, a learned Greek of St. Paul's city of Tarsus, who was known as Theodore the Philosopher. Theodore was induced to accept the position, and was consecrated by the pope for the vacant archbishopric, having received Hadrian's promise to accompany him and aid him in his work.

In May, 669, Theodore arrived in Canterbury accompanied by a young English monk, Benedict Biscop, to be followed later by Hadrian, who had been detained in Gaul. During the two years that elapsed before Hadrian's arrival Biscop presided over the new school which Theodore established at Canterbury. We are quite right in tracing to Benedict Biscop the foundation of those schools and the instigation of that learning which made England famous throughout the eighth and ninth centuries. Born in 628 of a noble Northumbrian family, he devoted himself at the age of twenty-five to the monastic life, but it was to no dreary, selfish, and senseless asceticism. Monasticism was in his mind but an agent of the church, a means to an end, and that end not the salvation of a man's own soul, but the redemption of the world and the building up of the kingdom of God—a work which in his view demanded every advantage, the use of every oppor-

tunity, and the development of all the faculties of mind, soul, and body which a man possessed. Art, literature, experience gained by travel, and wide acquaintance with men and affairs, as well as strict adherence to the Benedictine rules of discipline, were all made use of in achieving this great end. It is this earnest zeal and wide comprehensiveness that makes the name of Benedict Biscop the first bright ray in the intellectual life of England. There had been learning in the island before, and there could still be traced the influence of the Scotch and Irish schools, with learning introduced from Gaul, but the first original impulse in England is undoubtedly due to Biscop. In 653 he made his first journey to Rome, a second followed in 665, and a third in 671. From each of these he returned laden with stores of learning, of experience, and of literature, from Rome and from Gaul, and especially from Vienne. On his return from the third journey he received from the Northumbrian king a large grant of land at the mouth of the Wear, and founded the monastery of St. Peter's at Wearmouth in 674. Here he deposited his library, to which large additions were made as the result of a fourth journey to Rome in 678. Workmen from Gaul, furniture, pictures, glass, and lattice-work provided an artistic and suitable home for this great treasure, while an archchantor from Rome instructed the monks in music and in ritual. In 681 a sister institution was founded near by, at Jarrow, on land given by the pleased and grateful king. An additional wealth of pictures and of books was secured by the indefatigable

Biscop in his fifth journey to Rome, in 687, from which he returned worn, shattered, and partially paralyzed, in which condition he lingered until his death in 690. As he left the world he urged upon his disciples and pupils the importance of maintaining the monastic rule and discipline which he had established after visiting seventeen different monasteries on the continent. He implored them to take special care in the preservation of his precious library, and particularly emphasized the duty of disregarding the claims of nobility and of family in the choice of spiritual rulers.

Bede has given us the fullest and most sympathetic account of his life.[1]

The debt that England and, through England, the Western Church owes to Benedict Biscop is a very great one, and has scarcely ever been fairly recognized, for it may be said that the civilization and learning of the eighth century rested on the monasteries which he founded, which produced Bede, and, through him, the school of York, Alcuin, and the Carolingian schools, on which the culture of the Middle Ages was based.[2] The work of Bede, from the age of seven, when he first came under the direction of Biscop, who was his teacher, patron, and friend, until his death at Jarrow, in 735, is too well known to require our present consideration.

His writings were numerous, and covered a vast range of subjects, including commentaries and trans-

[1] Bede, "Historia Abbatum." Ed. Plummer, vol. i., pp. 364–370.
[2] Smith and Wace, "Dictionary of Christian Biography," art. Benedict Biscop, by Bishop Stubbs.

lations of the Old and New Testaments, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, arithmetic, chronology, epigrams, hymns, sermons, pastoral addresses and penitentials, and even some writings on natural science, besides his great works of history and biography. His learning included the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and quotations from Plato, Aristotle and Homer, Seneca, Cicero, Lucretius, Ovid and Virgil are found in his works. "I am my own librarian, my own secretary, and make my own notes," he writes.

In the mean time the work of Theodore at Canterbury had been going on. Hadrian, on his arrival, proved a most useful assistant to the archbishop. Both were able teachers, appreciated learning, and soon attracted large numbers of eager disciples through their influence. All the larger monasteries were converted into schools of learning, in which the laity, as well as the clergy, imbibed a respect for knowledge, and in some cases a real love for it.

"Even the monasteries belonging to the fair sex," said Hook, "were converted into seminaries of learning, and the abbess, Hildelidis, with her nuns, were, in the next generation, able to understand the Grecisms of Aldhelm, in his Latin treatise, 'De Laudibus Virginitatis,' written for their special edification."[1] In the time of Bede, as he himself tells us, there were scholars of Theodore and Hadrian who knew the Latin and Greek languages as well as their own.[2] In another place Bede

[1] Hook, vol. i., pp. 163, 164, ch. iv., § 2.
[2] Bede, bk. iv., ch. ii.

says that Albinus, Hadrian's disciple and successor in the government of the monastery at Canterbury, was so proficient in the study of the classics, that he knew Greek indeed in no small measure, and the Latin as thoroughly as that of the Angles, which was his native tongue.[1]

The Saxon Chronicle notices the death of Theodore in the year 690 with this brief remark: "Before this the bishops had been Romans, from this time they were English."[2] In other words, this great man had converted what had been a missionary station into an established church, and had set on foot an intellectual movement by which native Englishmen were trained and fitted for the highest positions in the English Church.

On the model of these schools, under the influence of Bede and of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, the most noted of all, the school of York, was founded. From the time of Paulinus, 625, York had been the great ecclesiastical centre of the North, and though, after his flight and the introduction of the missionaries from the Ionian monastery, who had made Landisfarne their seat, its importance had waned, it was restored again by the splendor and magnificence which the presence of Wilfrid gave to it as his see city. Wilfrid, like Biscop, had spent more time amid the greater culture of Gaul and Rome. He had seen the churches of Rome and other Italian cities, and could not endure the rough timber buildings thatched with

[1] Bede, bk. v., ch. xx.
[2] A. S. Chronicle, an. 690. The Parker MS.

weeds which the Saxons had built, and with which the Ionian missionaries had been content. True, the church of Paulinus at York had been built of stone, but it was in ruins. Wilfrid repaired it, roofed it with lead, and filled the windows with glass. At Ripon he built a new church of cut stones. It was of great height and supported by columns, but the architectural wonder of the age was the church at Hexham, surpassing in splendor every church on that side of the Alps.

Through the influence of Bede, York was raised to an archbishopric in 735, and from this time its future greatness and importance were assured. Egbert, the first archbishop, a friend and correspondent of Bede, was a learned as well as wise and successful ruler. His literary works are of great repute, and to him is due the honor of establishing the school of York, and the foundation of the library in connection with it. Its relation with Wearmouth and Jarrow must have been intimate and helpful. From the start scholars flocked hither from all parts of Europe, adding new honor to its fame and influence and to the increase of its library, thus furnishing a larger acquaintance with the wider field of literature.

Alcuin has left us an interesting glimpse of Egbert's scholastic life. In the morning, as soon as he was at liberty, he used to send for some of the young clerks, whom he instructed in succession. At noon he celebrated mass in his private chapel. Dinner was followed by a general discussion of literary subjects. In the evening Compline was said,

Stubbs says : " It is not too much to say that the gentle influences of the school of York and of its teachers kept Northumbria together until the close of the century in which Egbert lived. At the last, when Northumbria became hopelessly disorganized, the disciples of Egbert were enlightening other countries than those they were intended to humanize. The pupils of the school of York taught the schools and universities of Italy, of Germany, and of France." [1]

The most famous scholar of all was Alcuin. He was a Northumbrian of noble family, born about 735, at or near York. He was quite young when he entered Egbert's cathedral school, with which he remained connected, first as a scholar, then as master, until he went to take up his residence at the Frankish Court. He followed the usual lines of instruction, being taught first to read, write, and memorize the Latin psalms, then taking up the rudiments of grammar and the other liberal arts, and afterwards the study of the Holy Scriptures. He soon became the most eminent pupil of the school, then assistant master to Aelbert, and on the death of Egbert, in 766, when Aelbert succeeded to the archbishopric of York, Alcuin became head-master of the school, and held the position of Scholasticus. In 780, on Aelbert's death, he took charge of the cathedral library, then the most famous in England, and one of the most famous in the Western world. It far surpassed any possessed

[1] Smith and Wace, "Dictionary of Christian Biography," vol. ii., p. 51, art. Egbert.

by either England or France in the twelfth century, whether at Canterbury, at Paris, or at Bec. The full list of the volumes it contained is given in a poem written by Alcuin when it was under his charge. The following is a translation :

"There shalt thou find the volumes that contain
All of the ancient fathers who remain ;
There all the Latin writers make their home
With those that glorious Greece transferred to Rome—
The Hebrews draw from their celestial stream,
And Africa is bright with learning's beam.

"Here shines what Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary thought,
Or Athanasius and Augustine wrought,
Orosius, Leo, Gregory the Great,
Near Basil and Fulgentius coruscate.
Grave Cassiodorus and John Chrysostom
Next Master Bede and learned Anhelm come,
While Victorinus and Boethius stand
With Pliny and Pompeius close at hand.

"Wise Aristotle looks on Tully near.
Sedulius and Juvencus next appear.
Then come Albinus, Clement, Prosper too,
Paulinus and Arator. Next we view
Lactantius, Fortunatus. Ranged in line
Virgilius Maro, Statius, Lucan, shine.
Donatus, Priscian, Probus, Phocas, start
The roll of Masters in grammatic art.
Eutychius, Servius, Pompey, each extend
The list. Comminian brings it to an end.

"There shalt thou find, O reader, many more,
Famed for their style, the masters of old yore,
Whose heavy volumes singly to rehearse
Were far too tedious for our present verse." [1]

[1] West, pp. 34, 35.

Two authors probably are omitted, Martianus Capella and Isidore of Seville, on account of the exigencies of the verse. Of Aristotle little was known except some quotations in Augustine, an abridgment of the Categories falsely attributed to Augustine, the "De Interpretatione," with the translation of Porphyry's "Isagoge," or Introduction, by Boethius, and logical treatises by the latter, and this furnished all their material for the study of logic. Nothing was known of the great ethical, metaphysical, and scientific works of Aristotle. Of Plato, the Phædo and Timæus were known, though not mentioned by Alcuin. Boethius and Cassiodorius formed the great mediæval text-books in philosophy. The work of Isidore was a great encyclopædia, the most popular of all school collections. Alcuin calls him "*Lumen Hispaniæ*," but "it must have been very dark in Spain." In astronomy he tells us that the sun is larger than the moon or the earth. There is little knowledge, and that of a very vague sort.

Capella disputes with Augustine the honor of the division of knowledge into the *Trivium*, consisting of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the *Quadrivium*, embracing arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. His work is an allegorical presentation, in the first two books, of the marriage of science and eloquence, the attendant virgins being the seven liberal arts, which he then proceeds to describe.

Gregory of Tours frankly admits that whatever of the arts or sciences was to be known in his day

could be found in Martianus Capella.[1] His mythology and cosmogony were hardly orthodox enough for general use, and he is supposed to have suggested the great discovery of Copernicus, pointing out in his eighth chapter that Mercury and Venus revolve not around the earth, but around the sun.

[1] Gregory, bk. x., ch. xxxi.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MEETING OF CHARLES AND ALCUIN—THE PALACE SCHOOL — ALCUIN'S METHODS OF INSTRUCTION—CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS—ALCUIN ABBOT OF TOURS.

N the spring of 781 Charles and Alcuin met at Parma, the greatest conqueror of the age met the greatest scholar at the most critical time, when the need was greatest for the union of physical might and of intellectual ability, in order to lay strong and deep the great foundations, and to erect light and firm the mighty walls of the Western Empire. The men were well matched, and the most important results were sure to follow their union, not only in the cause of learning and of education, but also of ecclesiastical and political affairs. They had met once before, for Alcuin had been sent to Charles by his master, Aelbert, archbishop of York, in 768.[1] Charles was well prepared for the work which Alcuin was destined to accomplish under his direction, for from his earliest years he had been brought up in the Christian faith and trained by special teachers.[2]

[1] Abel-Simson, vol. i., p. 391 and note 6.
[2] Alcuin, "Adversus Elipantum," bk. i., ch. xvi.; Abel-Simson, vol. i., p. 21.

It was Aelbert's successor, Eanbald, who sent Alcuin to Rome to get from Pope Hadrian the pall as the seal and recognition of his authority. On his return he met Charles at Parma, as we have seen, and in response to the royal request promised to go to the Frankish Court, if he could gain permission from his king and from Archbishop Eanbald. Permission being granted conditionally on his promise to return later to England, the end of 781 or beginning of 782 found Alcuin at the court of Charles. Here he became at once the head and centre of the literary circle, which had been joined already by Peter of Pisa, the Lombard Paul the Deacon, and Paulinus the Grammarian. The latter, while in Italy, had been presented by Charles with a landed estate, and was made patriarch of Aquileia, probably in 787.[1] It was undoubtedly the stay which Charles made in Italy which gave the occasion for the meeting and the union of these scholars. During his residence there his attention had been drawn frequently to the intellectual superiority of the Italians, and the determination was strong within him to free his own people from the yoke of ignorance. From this time on his efforts were unfailing, and he took advantage of every means to gain this end. A palace school had from time immemorial existed at the Frankish Court long before the time of Charles,[2] although, as Charles himself says, "the study of letters had been well-nigh extinguished by the

[1] Abel-Simson, vol. i., pp. 411, 412.
[2] Mombert, p. 243.

neglect of his ancestors." [1] This school Charles determined to restore.

Walafrid, in his preface to Einhard's Life of Charles, thus speaks of him : " Indeed, of all kings he was the most eager to seek out wise men and to bring them to great honor, that they might apply themselves to the pursuit of wisdom with real pleasure. So the cloudy and, I might almost say, the black extent of the kingdom committed to him by God, he gave back luminous with a new and before partly unknown ray of learning, God illuminating him." [2] All the scholars just mentioned formed the nucleus of this great intellectual work. Peter had taught grammar with great distinction in the school at Pavia, and, on the capture of that city by Charles, he had followed the conqueror to the Frankish Court, and he remained with Charles until his death, at an advanced age, near the close of the century.[3]

Paul the Deacon was also an eminent Lombard scholar educated at the court of Rachis in Pavia. He was born about 725, and entered the Frankish Court in 782. His relations with Charles were very cordial, though he retired to a monastery in 787, where he wrote his famous history of the Lombards, tracing their history down to 744, where he ought to have begun it. But all these scholars were far surpassed by Alcuin in vigor of mind and in range of learning. Real originality was not to be found anywhere, but Alcuin's powers were of the

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 80.
[2] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 507.
[3] Abel-Simson, vol. i., pp. 391, 411 ; Mombert, p. 260.

most effective kind, and admirably suited to his time and place. He was a great critic, an able compiler, and an intelligent, active student, an earnest and sympathetic teacher, who knew how to make the most of his resources, and in his teaching to bring all his material into play. Alcuin, like Charles, was earnestly devoted to the maintenance of the Catholic faith, and he had undoubtedly brought from England that strong feeling of devotion and gratitude to Rome, which Bede felt and had done so much to foster and to encourage, and which showed itself so plainly in the labors and methods of the great English missionary, Boniface. Neither he nor Charles showed any cringing or timid subserviency to the Roman bishop, and each supported the other in maintaining the absolute freedom of the Frankish Kingdom from anything like papal domination or absolutism, yet both maintained and sought to uphold the dignity, lofty position, and wide usefulness of the Roman Church.

It was not an opportune time when Alcuin arrived at the court of Charles, for the king was in the bitterest and closing part of the first series of Saxon wars. It is, therefore, only one more evidence of the wide range of his interests, and the vigor and determination of his spirit, that in the midst of such affairs he could find time and energy for the establishment of a palace school, and it shows that he regarded the maintenance of learning in his kingdom as only second in importance to the maintenance of the empire itself. It is also to be noted that in the school founded by Charles in his palace,

attended as it was by the members of the royal family, and by the distinguished nobles of the court, learning was to be followed for larger interests and with wider purposes than could be realized in the training of the monks and of the clergy. Not only did Charles revere learning for its own sake, but he saw the value it would have in the moral and intellectual improvement of the whole kingdom.

Here, then, it would be necessary to go beyond the ordinary chanting and reading of select passages in the Latin Bible, and calculating the return of Easter, and the learning of the times would have to be adapted to a school made up of adult students. Of the king's own attainments Einhard says: "Gifted with a ready and easy flowing power of speech, he expressed clearly whatever he wished to say. He was not satisfied with his native tongue alone, but applied himself to the study of other languages, particularly to Latin, which he could speak as well as he could his own, but Greek he understood better than he spoke. He was so ready and fluent a speaker, that he might have passed for a teacher of rhetoric. He most zealously fostered the liberal arts, and held in the greatest veneration and loaded with honors those who taught them.

"He spent much time and labor in studying rhetoric, dialectic, and especially astronomy, in which he seemed to take a peculiar interest. He learned the art of reckoning, and gave much attention to investigating the courses of the stars. He tried also to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks at the head of his bed, that at leisure hours he

might accustom his hand to form the letters, but he did not succeed very well in this work on account of his age and because he began too late in life." [1] On this subject of his writing there has been a great deal of childish discussion which is much beside the mark. Gibbon says, with a contemptuous fling, "In his mature age the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy." [2]

The truth is, reading and writing were not then, as now, the simple tests of elementary learning. On account of the scarcity of books and the expense and difficulty of procuring materials for writing, almost all instruction was given orally, even in the palace school itself, as may be seen by the examples to be given. The study of reading and writing formed a special branch of the technical training, reserved exclusively for monks and other clergy, as having special need for these acquirements. Consequently the knowledge of how to read and write is no more to be taken as the test of general education in the early Middle Ages, than a knowledge of Hebrew or of Dogmatic Theology would be to-day.

If further confirmation of this fact were sought, it could be found in the well-known immunity from the secular courts, granted to all clergymen, and called "Benefit of Clergy," it being only necessary to show one's ability to read and write to prove "Clergy," and to receive the immunity.

The clearest idea of the method and amount of

[1] Einhard, "Vita," ch. xxv. [2] Gibbon, ch. xlix.

instruction given under Alcuin at this palace school may be gained from some of the conversations and lessons actually in use, and which have come down to us.

Dr. Mombert has given us most interesting ones in his very valuable work on Charles the Great, from which some quotations may be made. "An entertaining specimen of catechetical instruction, drawn up by Alcuin for Pippin, and, presumably, others of his more youthful hearers, is here presented. It is taken from 'The Disputation of Pippin, the most noble and royal youth, with Albinus [another nickname for Alcuin], the pedagogue,' and we add, that Pippin was then about sixteen years old.

P. What is writing?	*A.* The custodian of history.
P. What is speech?	*A.* The interpreter of the soul.
P. What produces speech?	*A.* The tongue.
P. What is the tongue?	*A.* The whip of the air.
P. What is air?	*A.* The guardian of life.
P. What is life?	*A.* The joy of the good, the sorrow of the evil, the expectation of death.
P. What is death?	*A.* An inevitable event, an uncertain journey, a subject of weeping to the living, the fulfilment of wills, the thief of men.
P What is man?	*A.* The slave of death, a transient traveller, a host in his dwelling.
P. What is man like?	*A.* Like a fruit tree.
P. How is man placed?	*A.* Like a lantern exposed to the wind.
P. Where is he placed?	*A.* Between six walls.

P. Which are they? *A.* Above, below, before, behind, right, left.

P. To how many changes is he liable? *A.* To six.

P. Which are they? *A.* Hunger and satiety; rest and work; walking and sleeping.

P. What is sleep? *A.* The image of death.

P. What is the liberty of man? *A.* Innocence.

P. What is the head? *A.* The top of the body.

P. What is the body? *A.* The domicile of the soul.

"Then follow twenty-six questions on the different parts of the body, of which a few may suffice:

P. What is the beard? *A.* The distinction of sex, the honor of age.

P. What is the mouth? *A.* The nourisher of the body.

P. What is the stomach? *A.* The cook of food.

P. What are the feet? *A.* A movable foundation.

"From a number of questions on natural science, we select these:

P. What is light? *A.* The torch of all things.

P. What is day? *A.* An incitement to work.

P. What is the sun? *A.* The splendor of the universe, the beauty of the sky, the glory of day, the distributor of the hours.

P. What is the moon? *A.* The eye of night, the dispenser of dew, the prophet of storms.

P. What are the stars? *A.* The pictures of the roofs of the heavens, the guides of sailors, the ornament of night.

P. What is rain? *A.* The reservoir of the earth, the mother of the fruits.

P. What is fog? *A.* Night in day; a labor of the eyes.

P. What is wind? *A.* The disturbance of the air, commotion of the waters, the dryness of the earth.

P. What is the earth? *A.* The mother of all that grows, the nourisher of all that lives, the barn of life, an omnivorous gulf.

P. What is the sea? *A.* The path of the daring, the frontier of land, the divider of continents, the hostelry of rivers, the foundation of rain, a refuge in peril, a treat in pleasure.

P. What is frost? *A.* A persecutor of plants, a destroyer of leaves, a fetter of earth, a fountain of water.

P. What is snow? *A.* Dry water.

P. What is winter? *A.* The exile of summer.

P. What is spring? *A.* The painter of the earth.

P. What is summer? *A.* The reclothing of the earth, the maturer of the fruits.

P. What is autumn? *A.* The barn of the year.

"It is probable that dialogue was the distinctive feature of Alcuin's oral teaching. At any rate, it characterized his instruction of the king, as appears from the subjoined example, in which Charles is introduced as pupil and Alcuin as his teacher.

Charles. Proceed now with your philosophic definitions of the virtues, and first of all define virtue.

Alcuin. Virtue is a habit of the mind, an ornament of nature, a rule of life, and an ennobler of manners.

Charles. How many parts does it contain?

Alcuin. Four: Prudence (wisdom), justice, fortitude, temperance.

Charles. What is prudence?

Alcuin. The knowledge of things and nature.

Charles. How many parts does it contain ?

Alcuin. Three: memory, intelligence, and foresight (*providential*).

Charles. Tell me their definitions also.

Alcuin. Memory is the power of the mind which recalls the past; intelligence is the power by which it perceives the present; foresight is the power by which it foresees something future before it comes to pass.

Charles. Explain the nature of justice.

Alcuin. Justice is the habit of the mind which gives to everything the merit it deserves; it preserves the worship of God, the laws of man, and the equities of life.

Charles. Unfold also the parts of justice.

Alcuin. They spring from the law of nature, and the uses of custom.

Charles. How from the law of nature ?

Alcuin. Because it comprises certain powers of nature, such as religion, piety, gratitude (*gratia*), vindication, observance, and truth.

Charles. Explain this more clearly, and one by one.

Alcuin. Religion is the careful pondering of things pertaining to God, together with the ceremonial due to him. Piety is the loving discharge of what is due to kin and to one's native land (*i. e.*, in modern phrase, patriotism). Gratitude is the recollection of another's acts of friendship and kindness, and the disposition to reward them. Vindication is the effectual defence of what is right, and the effectual punishment or avengement of in-

jury and wrong. Observance is the respectful and honorable recognition of the dignity of superiors. Truth is the power whereby things present, past, and future are declared.

Charles. How is justice subserved by the use of custom?

Alcuin. By pact or agreement; by parity, *i.e.*, equity, by judgment; and by law.

Charles. I ask also for more information on these points.

Alcuin. A pact is an agreement reached by mutual consent. Parity is observing equity or impartiality to all men. Judgment is a decision rendered by some great man, or established by the sentence of a plurality. Law is right set forth for the whole people, which all are bound to guard and observe.

"Thus Charles spoke and thought; and this brief dialogue both marks the man in at least one grand and unusual element of his greatness, and to some extent sheds light on at least one prolific source of his power.

"He was ever learning, and fond of learning; no subject came amiss to him; everything, from the most commonplace, every-day occurrence to the profoundest philosophical and theological inquiries, interested him—the price of commodities; the stocking and planting of farms; the building of houses, churches, palaces, bridges, fortresses, ships, and canals; the course of the stars; the text of the Scriptures; the appointment of schools; the sallies of wit; the hair-splitting subtleties of metaphysics;

the unknown depths of theology ; the origins of law ; the reason of usage in the manner and life of the nations ; their traditions in poetry, legend, and song ; the mysterious framework of liturgical forms ; musical notation ; the Gregorian chant ; the etymology of words ; the study of languages ; the flexion of verbs, and many more topics." [1]

In the life of Alcuin, by Lorenz, is to be found an interesting example in his work on grammar. " In grammar the beginning of the section on prepositions may serve as an example. To the question, ' What is a preposition ? ' the answer is, ' An indeclinable part of speech.' Here an accidental, outward form is made the principal characteristic, and is so much the less accurate as there are many other words besides prepositions which are indeclinable. Equally defective is the reply to the second question on the use of prepositions. ' They must be placed before other parts of speech, either by being compounded with or united to them.' A peculiarity like this can only be a sign, not a definition, and besides this explanation excludes all the prepositions that are placed after their cases. Alcuin's grammar was evidently written more for the memory than for the understanding." [2]

The study of Greek at that time seems to have held about the same relation to a higher education that the study of German held with us a quarter or a half a century ago. There was a great deal said about Greek. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] Mombert, pp. 244–251. See also Guizot, lecture 22.
[2] Lorenz, pp. 25, 26.

had introduced it into England, and it was taught in the schools of York, so that Bede is led to say that there were in his day scholars still living as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongue as in their own; but this seems to have been a very notable feature which, by the words "still living," could not be expected to be true very long. The knowledge of the Greek New Testament and of the Septuagint was kept alive for a while, but other Greek books, even of the early Christian Fathers, were very scarce. Nearly, if not all the Greek quotations in Alcuin's writings are taken not, as might appear, from the original, but from the works of St. Jerome. When Alcuin stepped beyond this limit he showed how little he really knew about Greek.[1] As to his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, Hauréau says: "There is no evidence that he studied Hebrew, since the Hebrew to be found in his commentaries on Genesis and on Ecclesiastes is taken directly from Jerome. He knew some Greek, as one of his letters to Angilbert testifies, but if he had understood this language perfectly, would he not have reproduced with more exactness the Greek names of the Ten Categories? But why should we stop to conjecture, and thus make obscure what is very plain? Alcuin had some glosses of Boethius, the abridgments of Cassiodorius, and of Isidore of Seville, and a poetic manual of Martianus Capella. There is nothing in his treatise on Dialectic which is not found in these writings, and in the

[1] Mullinger, on page 80, has pointed out some very amusing but egregious blunders.

treatise on the Ten Categories. He has made only an abridgment of other abridgments."[1] His remarks on the nature of the soul in different places of his works are always in the same terms, and are taken from Augustine's sixty-third sermon on the Gospel of St. John. Again, from his treatise, "De Ratione Animæ," his remarks on the origin of ideas, on memory, and on imagination are taken directly from the eleventh book of Augustine on the Trinity, and from his letter to Consentius.[2] On a closer examination Mullinger has shown very plainly that the boasted letter to Angilbert contained no more Greek than is furnished by Jerome. Mullinger's remark that "the younger members of the palace school seem to have required to be at once instructed and amused, much after the way that would now seem well adapted to a night school of Somersetshire rustics, while Alcuin's knowledge of Greek can scarcely be supposed to have exceeded that of an intelligent schoolboy well on in his First Delectus,"[3] seems rather severe, but cannot be far from the truth. We must remember, however, that Alcuin not only was laboring under the disadvantage of scarcity of material and of immaturity in his pupils, but was further hampered and confined by the traditions of the church. The art of grammar had been regarded as not only teaching to read and to write correctly, but also to understand and to prove clearly, and in carrying out this conception the classical authors were of great importance; but

[1] Hauréau, vol. i., p. 105. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 103, 104.
[3] Mullinger, p. 83.

from the time of Gregory the Great the study had dwindled to the most technical knowledge of the Latin language. This led to Gregory's own words expressing concern that the archbishop of Vienne, who was giving instruction in conformity with the larger conception, could give instruction in grammar, inasmuch as the praises of Christ cannot be uttered by the same tongue as those of Jove. In regard to dialectic, still greater aversion was felt and manifested, largely on account of the use made of it in arguments against Christianity. True, as we have seen, it began to creep into the church from Porphyry and Boethius, and so on through Cassiodorius and Isidore, but the form was so shrivelled and distorted as to be almost unrecognizable. Both dialectic and rhetoric were comprised under the head of logic, and Alcuin reproduced the same arbitrary classification. When we come to external nature or the study of anything like science, as presented in the *Quadrivium*, the weakness and lack are almost pitiable. In arithmetic the treatment is largely mystical, fancies and whims of the imagination being identified with the various numbers.[1] "In astronomy, fancy or arbitrary hypothesis supplied the place of observation."[2] As a theologian, however, Alcuin ranked very high, and his attainments seemed to be more truly deserved. The famous Caroline books against image worship have been connected with his name, and in the main

[1] Lorenz, pp. 32–37, "Even arithmetic first derived its title to be considered a science from its adaptation to theology."

[2] Mullinger, p. 88.

were probably his work. The declaration at the Synod of Frankfort, in 794, closed with the statement: "The holy synod itself was reminded that it should deem it meet to receive Alcuin to participation in its discussions and decisions, because he was a man learned in ecclesiastical doctrine, and the whole synod consented to the admonition of the lord king, and received him into full association with them." [1]

But originality was noticed only to be condemned in the theology of that age, and Alcuin was the most perfect representative of the theology of his time—orthodox but timid, repeating what he found in accredited books rather than trying to present ideas. His statements and positions are admirable as a summary, but he is a pedagogue rather than a scholar. There is no evidence of advance or development in his conception. His influence in the Carolingian schools is especially discernible in the manner in which he perpetuated and enhanced the authority of the fathers. His commentaries are little more than reproductions of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Gregory and Bede.

The larger influence of Alcuin is seen when, after the conclusion of the Saxon war by the submission of Wittikind, in 785, a seven years' peace ensued, broken only by a few minor campaigns—Brittany in 786; Benevento in 787; Bavaria in 788, and against the Welatabrians in 789. In 787 Charles issued his famous letter, "De Litteris Colendis." Ampère calls this the "charter of modern thought,

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 78.

from which dates the birth of an intellectual movement which still survives,"[1] and it surely may be considered as perhaps the most important document of the Middle Ages.

Among the most glaring deficiencies resulting from the state of things which the king sought to remedy was the number of incorrectly transcribed copies of portions of the Scriptures, breviaries and homilies scattered throughout the realm. Along with the decline of learning, the monastic libraries had suffered greatly from neglect, while the loss of papyrus, owing to the occupation of Egypt by the Saracens, had largely increased the costliness of the material. The letter is addressed to Baugulf, who was abbot of Fulda from 780 to 782. Charles declared that he, together with his counsellors, regarded it as advantageous that the cathedrals and monasteries should be engaged in the pursuit of letters and apt to teach, to accomplish which he orders that men be chosen for this work who have the will, the capacity, and the desire of teaching others.[2] Similar orders were given in the "General Admonition" of 789.[3]

The next royal instructions on the subject were contained in a circular letter on the occasion of sending around to the churches a homilary, or collection of sermons, made by Paulus Diaconus. He declares: "We have endeavored to make up for the inactivity of our fathers by the earnest study of

[1] Ampère, vol. iii., pp. 25, 27.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 78, 79.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60, Admon. Gen., c. 72, "Schools in each cathedral and monastery."

letters, and, so far as we can by our example, to encourage the study of the liberal arts. Already the books of the Old and New Testaments, corrupted through the negligence of copyists, we, too, have carefully corrected. We have made the same efforts and endeavors to correct the errors in the lessons for the various services, and we have enjoined that the work of Paulus Diaconus should be distributed and read, so that the sayings of the Catholic fathers may be carefully studied and well known."[1]

Although the position of Alcuin was a most honorable one, and he received from the king every favor and support, it was no easy task to be the universal instructor of the whole kingdom. It was no wonder that he sometimes found it hard to satisfy the insatiable curiosity of the king, or that, pressed beyond his powers, he was driven sometimes into confused or self-contradictory statements. "A horse," he says, "which has four legs often stumbles; how much more must man, who has but one tongue, often trip in speech!"[2] Furthermore, the school was frequently on the move to one or another of the royal residences, while other more serious interruptions came in the shape of wars, political affairs, and the excitements of court life.

Alcuin revisited England in 790, and attended the council at Frankfort in 794 as "a delegate from Britain."[3] The relations between England and the Frankish Kingdom were growing more strained,

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 80, 81. [2] Migne, vol. c.; Ep. 84.
[3] Boretius, vol. i., p. 78, note 59.

and the court of Charles too often served as a refuge for English outlaws. War seemed on the point of breaking out between Offa, king of Mercia, and Charles, when the return of Alcuin restored harmony, or at any rate averted war. In 796, a short time after Alcuin's return, he was presented to the abbacy of Tours, and a new career opened before him, Theodulf succeeding him in the more general oversight of education. The Abbey of Tours offered one of the highest positions in the church. It was the wealthiest in the kingdom, and, by the possession of relics of St. Martin, second only to Rome as a centre of devoted pilgrimage and of religious enthusiasm. Here he established a school for the training of young monks. His first aim being to provide them with a good library, he begged Charles to allow him to send to England some of his young scholars, "that they might bring back to Frankland the flowers of Britain, so that these might diffuse their fragrance and display their colors at Tours as well as at York." "In the morning of my life," he said, "I sowed in Britain, but now in the evening of that life, when my blood begins to chill, I cease not to sow in Frankland, earnestly praying that by God's grace the seeds may spring up in both countries." [1]

It is well that he did. Civil strife and discord were devastating the North, and the Danes were already appearing on the shores of that fair land where Biscop, Theodore, Bede, and Alcuin had labored so hard to establish learning and education.

[1] Migne, vol. c., p. 208 ; Ep. 43.

Soon those centres of wisdom would be pillaged and destroyed by the blasphemous hands of ignorant barbarians. Had not the Northumbrian learning been brought in the person of Alcuin to the court of Charles, it must have perished utterly in the Danish invasions of the ninth century.

Alcuin's greatest work was done as abbot of Tours. Freed from the conventionalities and distractions of the court, he could carry out in his monastery his ideas and principles of education, and devote himself without opposition to his work. The narrowness which had already shown itself in his close following of Gregory the Great and Bede, became now still more apparent. St. Martin's school had long been famous as the chief centre for the education of the clergy, and Alcuin took up the work with zeal and ability. Science and the classics found little place here, and severer rules than could have been enforced in the palace schools restricted the monks, especially the younger ones, to more technically sacred studies. An incident from the biography of Alcuin at this period will illustrate this fact. Sigulf, with two younger monks, Aldricus and Adalbert, afterward abbot of Ferrières, began the study of Virgil, although it had been forbidden. "The sacred poets," said the abbot, "are enough for you. You do not need to sully your minds in the rank luxuriance of Virgil's verse." For some time Alcuin remained in ignorance of what was going on, but at last he discovered it and sent for Sigulf. "How is this, Virgilian, that without my knowledge, contrary to my direct command, thou

hast begun to study Virgil?" He then and there secured a promise that the objectionable poet should be studied no more, and dismissed the monk with a severe reprimand.

However, from all sides students flocked to the school at Tours, many from England being especially welcomed, and attaining positions of great honor. Thus Alcuin's greatest work was done, not in the teaching of princes, but in the training of teachers. Many of the great names mentioned in the cause of learning in the ninth century were of those who studied under Alcuin at Tours.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

IRISH LEARNING — ST. PATRICK — COLUMBANUS — IRISH MISSIONS AND MONASTERIES ON THE CONTINENT—IRISH SCHOLARS AT THE COURT OF CHARLES—OPPOSITION OF ALCUIN—DEATH OF ALCUIN.

BUT new influences were at work in the kingdom of Charles, and new methods and principles of learning and of education were being introduced. The great missionary work of the English Boniface, which had been carried on with such success under Charles Martel and Pippin, had served to spread not only Christianity, but the influence of the Roman spirit and the rule of Benedict, and thus in a great measure had prepared the way for Alcuin. His great success threatened to hide from view the labors of another line of workers gifted with another kind of spirit.

By the efforts of one of the most noted saints and missionaries of the Christian Church, St. Patrick, monasteries and schools had been spread over Ireland, until it gained the name it has since borne in history, "The Island of the Saints." Persecuted

by one of the petty kings, whose morals he had endeavored to correct, Columba, St. Patrick's successor, had, in 565, taken refuge in the island of Iona, where he built a monastery, which soon became celebrated, both as a centre of great and successful missionary efforts among the Picts, the inhabitants of what is now known as Scotland, and as a source of Christian light and learning. Columba died in Iona in the very year in which Augustine, missionary from the pope of Rome, set foot on the island of Thanet, on the southern shores of Britain. In these monasteries and schools, far in the North and West, there was kindled and burned brightly a light of Christian zeal and learning, which had been lighted from other flames than those of Rome, and which reflected more of the glory of the Greek spirit of the East.

Far removed from the turmoil of the great invasions on the Continent the light burned steadily on, cut off by the conquest of the Saxons in the fifth century from intercourse with the rest of the great church of the West. Not content, however, to remain thus isolated and inactive, though powerless to reach the fierce Saxon hordes, by whom their Christian brethren had been ruthlessly put to death or driven westward to the mountains, they looked beyond, across the sea, for the fields white for the harvest. Fridolin was the first Celtic missionary to cross the Channel, about the year 500, laboring in Aquitania among the Arian Visigoths, continuing under the protection of Clovis after the conquest by the Franks in 507. He labored also among the

Alemanni, but little definite information regarding his work has come down to us.

Another Irish monk, Columbanus, born in 543, trained in the monastery of Bangor, in the Province of Ulster, educated in the highest studies in classical as well as in sacred learning, crossed over to Gaul in the year 590, and, where Christianity had suffered most, began to plant monasteries, the seeds of Christian life, learning and civilization. As the result of his life of labor and of sacrifice he left as monuments of his devotion three great monasteries —the first, at Anegrey, built in the forest of the Vosges on the ruins of an ancient castle ; the second, Luxeuil, on the southeastern frontier of Austrasia, already famous for its learning in the seventh century, when learning among the Franks was well-nigh dead ; and the third at Bobbio, near Parma, in Italy, by permission of the Lombard king, Agilulf. Here he died in 615. His ablest follower founded in Alemannia the justly famous monastery named for him, St. Gall. These labors not only sprang from different sources, but were of a very different character from those we have just been considering, and these differences are of great importance in history, and at one time gave promise of still greater importance. They require brief consideration.

In the early centuries the union between the British and Irish churches and the Church of Gaul had been quite close, and, as is well known, Christianity had been brought to Gaul from the East, especially from Asia Minor. But all intercourse with the

Continent had been broken off by the Saxon conquest of Britain, and when once more the Celtic Church came face to face with Continental Christianity, either in the courts of English kings, converted by missionaries from Rome, or in the course of their own missionary exploits among the German tribes, important differences appeared. These clearly showed themselves in the reckoning of Easter, the form of the tonsure, the consecration of a bishop, the baptism of children, the absence of required celibacy, and in a peculiar liturgy and a different system of monastic rules.[1] Of still more significance, however, was the fact that since the condemnation of the "Three Chapters" there had arisen a great mistrust of Roman orthodoxy. Pelagius I. had acknowledged the authority of the Fifth Council, but this led to a tedious schism between several Western churches and Rome,[2] inasmuch as for a long time in the Western Church the rejection of the "Three Chapters" was considered a violation of orthodoxy, and on this account the bishops of Italy broke off their communion with Rome. The bishops of Milan and Ravenna were reconciled, indeed, when, oppressed by the Arian Lombards, they were compelled to set a greater value on communion with the Catholic Church, but the archbishop of Aquileia, who since the conquest of Italy by the Lombards had resided on the island of Grado, and the Istrian bishops were more obstinate, and did not renew their fellowship with Rome until the year 698. These "Three Chapters," as they were

[1] Gieseler, vol. i., p. 530. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 481.

called, were the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret's writings against Cyril, and the letter of Ibas to Maris, the two latter having been expressly pronounced orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon.[1] Indeed, the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon were regarded by the Egyptian party as completely Nestorian.[2] All these differences had been settled as far as England was concerned at the Council of Whitby, in 664, in favor of the customs and beliefs upheld by Rome, but the work of Columbanus and his companions on the Continent revived the question. Columbanus had already come into conflict with the Frankish bishops regarding the time of the celebration at Easter while at Luxeuil. "True," he said, "the diversity of customs and traditions has greatly disturbed the peace of the church, but if we only strive in humility to follow the example of our Lord, we shall next acquire the power of mutually loving each other as true disciples of Christ, with all the heart and without taking offence at each other's failings, and soon men would come to the knowledge of the true way if they sought the truth with equal zeal, and none were inclined to borrow too much from self, and each sought his glory only in the Lord. One thing I beg of you, that since I am the cause of this difference, and I came for the sake of our common Lord and Saviour as a stranger into this land, I may be allowed to live silently in these forests near the bones of our seventeen brethren, as I have been permitted to live twelve years among

[1] Gieseler, vol. i., p. 479. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 359, note 66.

you already, that so as in duty bound we may pray for you as hitherto we have done. May Gaul embrace us all at once as the kingdom of heaven will embrace us if we shall be found worthy of it."[1] From Bobbio he wrote to the pope himself, showing how he had been impressed by the power and majesty of Rome. He pronounced her the mistress, and speaks in the highest terms of her authority, especially on the ground that St. Peter and St. Paul had taught there and honored it by their martyrdom. But he places the Church of Jerusalem for similar reasons in a still higher rank,[2] and he admonished the Roman Church, and declared that her power would remain with her only so long as she guarded the truth, and that only he was the true key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, who by true knowledge opened the door for the worthy and shut it upon the unworthy. He warned the Roman Church against setting up any arrogant claims, on the ground that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to St. Peter, since they could have no force in opposition to the faith of the universal church.[3] This was plain speaking on the part of an Irish monk, and showed a deeper harmony with the spirit of the Greek theology than with the Roman external economy of a visible organization; while in the three great monasteries that marked the route of St. Columban's apostolate—Luxeuil, St. Gall, and Bobbio—numerous manuscripts of Origen

[1] Neander, vol. iii., pp. 32, 33.

[2] Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum salva loci dominicus resurrectonis singulari prærogativa.

[3] Neander, vol. iii., p. 35.

and other Greek fathers, written in the elegant Irish character, long remained to attest the more inquiring spirit in which the studies of their communities were pursued. Other differences of a more specific character excited the jealousy and distrust of the Latin clergy. The Irish theologian did not concur in their condemnation and neglect of classical literature. He was not infrequently acquainted to some extent with Greek. He used the Latin version of the New Testament that was not the Vulgate, and claimed to be anterior to Jerome. His text-book of elementary instruction was more often than not the dangerously speculative treatise Martianus Capella.[1]

The scholars of Ireland were probably not unknown to Charles. Einhard speaks of the rich gifts to Irish kings, which bound them to the king of the Franks, so that they called him their lord and themselves his slaves.[2] When, therefore, some of them, Clement of Ireland and his companions, presented themselves at the court, they were cordially welcomed and received, and Clement afterwards was made head of the palace school. Their presence soon made itself felt in the questioning by the king of some of the teachings of Alcuin. Letters were sent to the former teacher at Tours, to which Alcuin replied, bewailing the fact that the school of the Egyptians had gained an entrance into David's glorious palace. "When I went away," he wrote, "I left the Latins there, and I know not who introduced the Egyptians." Theodulf, who had been

[1] Mullinger, pp. 118, 119.
[2] Einhard, "Vita Karoli," ch. xvi.

made bishop of Orleans, also inveighed against the Irish school of theology. The Irish theologian he calls a lawless thing, a deadly foe, a dull horror, a malignant pest, one who, though versed in many subjects, knows nothing as certain and true, and even any subject of which he is ignorant fancies himself omniscient.[1] Charles was not looking for authority, however, but for truth, and the Irish school gained and held a place in the palace school for the greater part of the ninth century. But the work of Alcuin was not all done nor all forgotten. Once more he was summoned to a doctrinal contest, and by his theological learning and undoubted skill he refuted Felix, bishop of Urgel, and won a brilliant triumph over the Adoptianists. He lived to congratulate Charles on his accession to the imperial dignity, and becoming ill in the spring of 804, in accordance with his strong desire to live until Pentecost, he died on the morning of that great festival, May 19th, 804. Mullinger thus sums up his services : " A sense of the signal service rendered by Alcuin to his age, in days when learning strove but feebly and ineffectually amid the clang of arms and the rude instincts of a semi-barbarous race, must not lead us to exaggerate his merits or his powers. On a dispassionate and candid scrutiny, his views and aims will scarcely appear loftier than his time. By the side of the imperial conceptions of Charles, so bold, so original, so comprehensive, his tame adherence to traditions, his timid mistrust of pagan learning, dwarf him almost to littleness.

[1] Migne, vol. cv., p. 322.

No noble superiority to the superstitions of his age stamps him like Agobard a master spirit. No heroism of self-devotion like that of a Columbanus or of a Boniface bears aloft his memory to a region which detraction cannot reach. He reared no classic monument of historic genius like that of Einhard, he penned no stanzas like those of Theodulf, 'Gloria Laus et Honor Tibi,' to waft from century to century the burden of the Christian hope until lost in the clamor of the Marseillaise.[1]

"Yet let us not withhold the tribute that is his due. He loved the temple of the muses, and was at once their high priest and their apostle in the days when the worshippers at their shrines were few. He upheld the faith with vigor and ability against its foes, and amid the temptations of a licentious court bore witness to its elevating power with the eloquent, though unuttered testimony of an upright and blameless life. He mediated between the two greatest princes of the West, and the blessing promised the peacemakers was his. He watched with a father's care over a band of illustrious disciples, who repaid him by a loving obedience while he lived, and by a faithful adherence to his teachings when he was gone. And when, on the morning of Pentecost, his spirit passed away, it was felt that a light had been withdrawn from the church, and that a wise teacher of Israel was dead."[2]

[1] This hymn, "Gloria," was sung in France on Palm Sunday each year until the Revolution.

[2] Mullinger, pp. 126, 127.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LARGER DEVELOPMENT UNDER LOUIS THE PIOUS—THE SCHOLARS OF FULDA—RABANUS MAURUS AND SERVATUS LUPUS—THE GREAT REFORMERS—AGOBARD OF LYONS AND CLAUDIUS OF TURIN — PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS AND THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION — JOHN SCOTUS ERIGENA — GOTTSCHALK AND THE PREDESTINATION CONTROVERSY.

THE schools which Charles had founded multiplied and attained a greater glory in the reign of his sons and successors. Milman speaks of the acts of the Council of 817 as among the boldest and most comprehensive ever submitted to a great national assembly. The rule of Chrodegang was made to apply to the entire church, and the whole discipline of monastic life was defined with increasing strictness. Louis the Pious had ordered the translation of the Scriptures into the *Lingua Teudisca*, and the national dialects of Neustria and Austrasia were already developing into distinct languages.

Accordingly the episcopal schools became more prominent and distinct from those of the monas-

teries, which began to be attended exclusively by the monks. These schools were attached to the cathedrals for boys destined to become priests, and were confided to the care of one of the canons called Scholasticus. Mullinger thus describes one : " We may picture to ourselves a group of lads seated on the floor, which was strewn with clean straw, their waxen tablets in their hands, and busily engaged in writing down the words read by the ' scholasticus ' from his manuscript volume. So rarely did the pupil in those days gain access to a book that ' to read ' (*legere*) became synonymous with ' to teach.' The scholars traced the words upon their tablets, and afterwards, when their notes had been corrected by the master, transferred them to a little parchment volume, the treasured depository with many of nearly all the learning they managed to acquire in life, ' because,' says Rabanus Maurus, ' whatever the master taught me orally I committed it all to written pages, lest an uncertain mind should lose it.' " [1]

In the ninth century, however, only two centres of church education in the Frankish territory stood forth as examples of the higher culture—one at Orleans, under Theodulf, and the other at Rheims. The latter, under Hincmar and his successors, claims the proud distinction of having preserved in this century that tradition of learning which linked the episcopal schools with the University of Paris, but

[1] Me quia quæcumque docuerunt ore magistri, ne vaga mens perdat cuncta dedi foliis, Migne, vol. cxii., p. 1600 ; Mullinger, p. 130.

throughout the ninth century, and, indeed, for the four centuries preceding the reign of Philip Augustus, the work of the episcopal schools was naturally quite eclipsed by that of the monasteries—Corbie, St. Riquies, St. Martin of Metz, St. Bertin, Ferrières and others, but Tours already had begun to decline on account of its wealth.

A capitulary of Louis in 822 shows the same interest in learning that his father had, though suggesting some neglect in the past. It is decreed that every one in course of training for any position in the church shall have a fixed place of resort and a suitable master. Later each bishop was to exercise great diligence in instituting schools, and in training and educating soldiers for the service of Christ's church. Louis, it appears, was on the eve of an undertaking proposed by the bishops, to open three large public schools in the three most suitable locations in the empire, when the rebellion of his sons broke out and civil war ensued.

In the mean time the monastery of Fulda was rising to importance through one of the greatest scholars of the century, Rabanus Maurus. He had been sent as a young man to receive instruction from Alcuin at Tours, and speedily became a great favorite. On his return, deeply impressed with the learning and character of his teacher, he was appointed head of the monastery school, though only twenty-seven years of age. In 819 he wrote the celebrated "De Institutione Clericorum," justly cited as evidence against exaggerated representations with respect to the

ignorance of the clergy of those times. He showed a greater liberality of sentiment than Alcuin and Gregory on the subject of pagan literature and secular learning, especially in regard to Dialectic, of which he says: "This is the study of studies. It teaches how to teach. It alone knows how to know, and not only will, but can make men wise. Wherefore it behooves the clergy to be acquainted with this noble art." "Indeed, it would seem," says Mullinger, "that the decline of the orthodox mistrust of Dialectics may be held to date from his teachings."[1] His words in regard to philosophy are of remarkable breadth, and show how he had already departed from his teacher's precepts. He held that if any of the schools, and especially the Platonists, were to be found maintaining doctrines that harmonized with the Christian faith, instead of regarding their teaching with mistrust, we should do well to convert it to our own use. In his commentary on St. Matthew, completed the year he was elected abbot, he seems to have used only the Latin fathers and Chrysostom, though he mentions Origen and the other Greeks. In his explanation of natural phenomena he was not so inclined to occult and supernatural origins as was Alcuin. Even ghosts, spirits, and similar phenomena are referred to the deception of the senses under the influence of overwrought mental faculties. In this way he explains the appearance of Samuel to Saul, as true not in fact, but with respect to the perception and the mind of Saul. Though rebuking pagan super-

[1] Mullinger, p. 144.

stitions, many of which still lingered among the people, he fully shared the superstition of the age in the veneration of the relics. For his ability as a teacher he gained a high reputation. Einhard sent his own son to be educated at Fulda, telling him to take Rabanus as a model in all things, because thus instructed he will be wanting in nothing that relates to the knowledge of life. "I fear, my son," he wrote, "and I very much suspect that, leaving home, you may come to forget yourself and to forget me also, for inexperienced youth, unless controlled by the check of discipline, proceeds with difficulty in the ways of righteousness. Endeavor then, my dear boy, to imitate the best examples. On no account incur the displeasure of him whom I have set before you as your model, but, mindful of your vow, seek to profit by his teaching with the most diligent application that he whom you have chosen as your master may approve. Instructed by his precepts, and accustoming yourself to put them into practice, you will be wanting in nothing that pertains to the knowledge of life. As I exhorted you by word of mouth, be diligent in study, and fail not to attain whatever of noble learning you may be able to gain from the most brilliant and fertile genius of this great orator, but, above all, remember to imitate the virtues which are his greatest glory, for grammar, rhetoric, and the other liberal arts are but vain things, and most injurious to the servants of God, if divine grace does not teach us that we must ever hold good morals above them all. Indeed, learning may inspire the heart, but

charity edifies it. I should rather know that you were dead than soiled by pride and vice, for the Saviour has not asked us to imitate his miracles, but his gentleness and his humility. What more shall I say? These counsels and others like them you have often heard from my mouth. May you then be so happy as to love that which procures by divine grace, purity of soul and of body. Farewell." [1]

Soon Rabanus himself became the centre of instruction for other teachers, adding six monasteries more to the sixteen already affiliated under his rule as abbot. Among these six were Corbie, Hersfeld, Petersburg, and Hirschau. Among his pupils were Servatus Lupus, Walafrid Strabo, Otfried of Weissenberg, and Rudolph, perhaps the most famous of them all, who later succeeded Rabanus himself as teacher of the monastery school, and continued the annals of Fulda from the point where Einhard left off, a preacher whose oratory was the special delight of Louis the Pious, a scholar notable for his knowledge of Tacitus—probably from some manuscripts that subsequently disappeared—in an age when that writer was otherwise unknown. There were also many others. Indeed, one of the biographers of Rabanus asserts that wherever, whether in peace or in war, in church or in state, a prominent actor appears at this period, we may predict almost certainly that he will prove to have been a scholar of this great teacher.[2]

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 477, 478; Einhardi, Ep. 56.
[2] Spengler; quoted by Mullinger, p. 153.

Another scholar of Fulda, associated with Servatus Lupus, was Probus, whom the annals of Fulda describe as "the religious presbyter whose saintly learning and pure conversation made Fulda yet more illustrious."[1] Servatus Lupus says of him that "he would admit Cicero, Virgil, and other noble men among the ancients, to the number of the elect, that the blood of Christ might not be shed in vain, and that the prophecy might be fulfilled. 'I will be thy death, O Death! and I will be thy sting, O Grave!'"[2] Indeed, they must have appreciated the beautiful language, the eloquent style, and the noble thought of these classical masters after what they had been through. No wonder they welcomed them back with sincere delight and crowned them once more kings of learning and saints of literature.

In the civil strifes and domestic feuds in which son rose against father and brother against brother, Rabanus still remained loyal to Louis, and after his death to Lothair, who received the imperial title. After the battle of Fontenay, in 841, he resigned his abbacy and retired to Petersburg. He had great respect and regard for Lewis the German, however, "and his testimony to the high character of the king is, perhaps, the least open to suspicion of all the tributes to the moral virtues of the best of the sons of Louis the Pious, his reputation being such as to render him superior to mere political

[1] "Ann. Fuld.," an. 859; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 373.
[2] Serv. Lup., Ep. 20; quoted by Neander, vol. iii., p. 602, note 2.

considerations.[1] In 847, at the age of seventy-one, he was elected to the bishopric of Mainz, an office which involved the spiritual supervision of all Germany, except the diocese of Cologne. This office he held until his death, in 856.

The position of the episcopate at this time was one of great importance. The civil power was weakened and divided, and the maintenance of law and order depended almost entirely upon the officers of the church. The influence and the authority of the bishops in secular, as well as in ecclesiastical affairs, was well-nigh supreme. In the decay of the royal power, the rise of feudalism and the encroachment of the papacy, the power of the bishops looms up in a significant and decisive manner, and the number of great names shows the intellectual and administrative ability with which the leading positions were filled. Such men as Theodulf, Agobard, Rabanus Maurus, and Hincmar exercised an influence in guiding opinions and controlling events far beyond that exercised by any layman of the time. An extract from one of the chief ministers of Charles the Bald illustrates the influence of prominent ecclesiastics in affairs of state. "But yet," he says, "they refer the matter, as is customary, to the bishops and priests, so that in whatever way the divine authority may please to settle it according to his will, they may assent with a free and ready mind."[2] Thus, as we have seen, the influence at Fulda was broader and more inspiring than that at Tours. Servatus Lupus had been sent to Ferrières, but in 830 went to Fulda,

[1] Mullinger, p. 156. [2] Nithardus, iv., 3; M. G. SS., vol. ii., p. 669.

where he remained for a short time, and then returned to Ferrières as instructor in grammar and rhetoric.

Many changes were brought about by the treaty of Verdun, in the intellectual as well as in the political world, and further changes were made in consequence of the pronounced sympathies of these great teachers. However, the bond uniting them together remained unbroken, for their interests were unaffected by the political machinations and difficulties of the time. Like the bonds of scholarship and of commerce to-day, they were above mere party lines and sectional interests. Under Charles the Bald, the ruler of the Western Kingdom, the intellectual life received great encouragement and support. In his tastes and methods he was more like his grandfather. He was a keen theologian, fond of argument and debate, but the times were very evil. It is true, the shock of civil discord had largely passed away, but the invasions of the Northmen brought woe and destruction to many of the fairest seats of learning. "All the monasteries and places along the Seine were either depopulated or left terrified after having given up much of their wealth."[1] Indeed, unlike the previous invasions, churches and monasteries seem to have been the chief objects of attack. Their defenceless condition and the large amount of wealth which they had acquired served to invite the greed of the barbarous and savage Northmen. Their ravages began about 840, and for more than half a century they

[1] "Prud. Trec. Ann.," an. 841; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 437.

were the terror of Southern Europe. Coasting along the shores of the sea, they made frequent expeditions up each river as far as navigable, and thus were enabled to penetrate with their destroying zeal far into the interior. Gaul, Spain, and the district lying along the Mediterranean between Spain and Italy suffered in this way. At last, however, the monasteries themselves became centres of organized resistance ; abbots and monks alike were forced to bear arms, and monasteries were bound to furnish men and money to the State. In the midst of these invasions the nobles revived the confiscating policy of Charles Martel, and although Charles the Bald was a great friend to the church, he was powerless to resist the growing power of the nobles.

In all these dangers and difficulties Servatus Lupus was one of the foremost advisers of the king, not only in regard to ecclesiastical affairs, but in questions of State policy as well. In 847 he went with Charles to Marsua, to settle terms with Lothair and Lewis. In 849 he represented Charles at Rome and at Bourges in the matter of the heresy of Gottschalk. In 858 he was again prominent in the negotiations with Lewis. But although so high in influence and position, he was unable to obtain simple justice for his own monastery, showing the strength of the opposition on the part of the feudal nobles. His literary correspondence gives a clear picture of the scholar's life.[1] Nearly every classical writer known or studied in his time was quoted or referred to in his letters—Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Suetonius,

[1] Nicholas, "Étude sur les lettres de Servat-Loup."

Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Horace, Terence, Martial, Macrobius, and Priscian, and the usual text-books of his time. His letters also reveal much regarding the methods and difficulties of literary work. Books and manuscripts were borrowed and loaned, sent from one monastery to another for copying; but often where the willingness existed the difficulties in the way were great.

We are informed that a volume of Bede would not be loaned to Hincmar, because it was too large to hide in the coat or wallet, and the bearer might fall in with a band of robbers, who, tempted by the beauty of the manuscript, would seize and carry it off. Even within the monastery books were not always safe. "If you knew the situation of our monastery," Servatus writes to the abbot of Tours, "you would not have thought of entrusting your treasure to our keeping, I will not say for long, but even for three days, for though access hither may not appear easy for these pirates, yet the monastery is so little protected by its situation, and we have so few men capable of opposing them, that it is itself a temptation to their greed."[1] His higher intellectual activity, and his intimate knowledge of the wider views of the classical writers, gave him a strong distaste for unprofitable theological speculation. Altogether he appears as one of the most scholarly men of the ninth century, and is a good example of the highest and best influences of classical learning upon the intellectual life of the time. He was held in great esteem, and died in 862.

[1] Serv. Lup., Ep. 110; quoted by Mullinger, p. 169.

Two noted Spaniards also showed great intellectual ability and freedom of thought in this century. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons from 816 until his death, in 840, revised the liturgy in the interest of pure doctrine and of scriptural expression. He wrote against image worship and superstition, and even proposed to substitute rational investigation for the heathen methods of trial by combat and by ordeals, which were still retained under a Christian form. Claudius, bishop of Turin from 814 until his death, in 839, was an even bolder reformer, and opposed most vigorously the growing materialism showing itself in the doctrines of images and of the Eucharist. He opposed pilgrimages to Rome and the growing power of the papacy. He laid the foundations of modern Protestantism in his doctrine of grace and of justification. "It is certain that from this moment there would be always somewhere in the church a protest against the tendency to materialize Christianity."[1]

One of the most significant controversies of this century was brought out by a treatise by Paschasius Radbertus, a monk, and from 844 to 851 the abbot of Corbie. It was entitled "On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," was written in 831, and soon after 844 sent to Charles the Bald in a popular form that he might favor its spread. It is important as being the first formal statement of Transubstantiation, declaring "that by virtue of the consecration, by a miracle of almighty power, the substance of the bread and wine became converted

[1] Ampère, vol. iii., p. 88.

into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, so that beneath the sensible, outward emblems of the bread and wine another substance was still present."[1]

Highly figurative language in reference to the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been employed from very early times, and there was a strong tendency in a literal age to convert the symbolical and metaphorical language into a mechanical theory. But the church had been kept from a definite formulation of such a misconception by the spiritual ideas, clear thought, and decisive language of Augustine.[2]

The treatise of Paschasius, therefore, created at once a profound sensation. Charles the Bald referred it to Ratramnus (Bertram), another monk of Corbie, for his consideration and reply. The answer was a clear, firm, and at the same time devout and scriptural denial of the doctrine. He affirmed Christ's presence in the sacrament, not in substance, but in spirit and influence, "*spiritualiter et secundam potentiam*," in a work still read in English.[3]

The view of Paschasius was also condemned by Rabanus Maurus, John Scotus, and Florus of Lyons. "Still the mystical and apparently pious doctrine, which was easier of apprehension and seemed to correspond better to the sacred words, obtained its advocates, too, and it was easy to see

[1] Neander, vol. iii., p. 495.

[2] Epistle to Boniface, No. 98, ch. ix.; "Nicene Fathers," first series, vol. i., pp. 409, 410. See also Gieseler, vol. i., p. 435, note 15.

[3] Bertram, "On the Body and Blood of Christ." See Neander, vol. iii., pp. 494–501.

that it only needed times of darkness, such as soon followed, to become general. In the same spirit Radbert also taught a miraculous delivery of Mary, but here, again, he was opposed by Ratramnus." [1]

But the tendency of the age was too strong to be resisted. "The dogma was not forced upon the understanding from without, but was demanded by it," and was due rather to "the restless eagerness of a logical age." [2]

The great evil was not in the doctrine of transubstantiation; that did represent, however imperfectly, a reality, the presence of Christ in his church and in the faithful Christian; but the evil lay in the doctrine which a later and more corrupt age deduced from it—namely, the sacrifice of the mass, on which the tremendous power of the priesthood of the Middle Ages rested—that a man could create the body and blood of Christ, and by his own act offer to God the propitiatory sacrifice which Christ in his own body on the cross had offered once for all for the sins of the whole world.

In the midst of the intellectual life and learning of the ninth century a new light appears—startling, brilliant, keen, and irresistible, like a comet amid the stars, or lightning in a clear sky. We lose all sight of Clement of Ireland, and know little of the Irish school after the time of Charles the Great. It had received little encouragement from Louis the Pious, but a new impulse came under Charles the Bald, at whose court appeared the intellectual won-

[1] Gieseler, vol. ii., pp. 83, 84. [2] Maurice, vol. i., p. 464.

der of his age, John Scotus Erigena. He forms the connecting link between the traditions of the past and the later scholastic philosophy, of which he has been regarded as the real inaugurator. With far greater boldness than Rabanus he employed the art of dialectic and carried speculation to its utmost limit. He was born in the first or second decade of the ninth century, educated probably in Irish monasteries, as is shown by his Greek learning and his Celtic sympathies, but the only trustworthy information regarding him concerns his life at the court of Charles the Bald, where he appeared about 845. His favorite manual was the much mistrusted treatise of Martianus Capella, and he was well versed in the Greek fathers, especially in Origen, who was no less an object of suspicion by the church. Indeed, the Greek fathers were his constant study, and the Greek methods of thought and points of view were his own. He at once established a close and sympathetic intimacy with Charles the Bald, whose mind naturally tended towards philosophical subtleties. Charles the Bald did for philosophy what his grandfather, Charles the Great, did for theology. His father, Louis the Pious, had been fond of the mysteries of scriptural interpretation, and mistrusted all that savored of speculation or showed a new and untraditional line of thought, but Charles was the patron of all schools and of all parties, and the most liberal benefactor of learning in his age. The very name of his palace was "The School." In his reign Irish scholars flooded the Western Kingdom. Fond of travel, of adventure,

and of change, they appreciated the welcome which they received at his court.

The learning of Erigena was fully appreciated by the king. He was selected to translate the Pseudo-Dionysius, a work on the Celestial Hierarchies, supposed to have been written by Dionysius the Areopagite, who was confused with Dionysius, the bishop of Paris, or St. Denis, the patron saint of France. A copy of this work in Greek had been sent by the Emperor Michael to Louis the Pious in 827.[1] The translation was well done, and Erigena showed a fairly correct and at times elegant Latin style. He also compiled a commentary on Martianus Capella, "from whom," says Prudentius of Troyes, "he had imbibed a deadly poison," which seems to have been shown in his putting of reason above authority, and using dialectic rather than tradition in the investigation of truth. Perhaps the most marked influences upon him were exerted by the Timæus of Plato and the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies attributed to Dionysius. His great work was the "De Divisione Naturæ," in five books. He posited as a fundamental principle that true theology and true philosophy are only formally different, but essentially identical. The truth is expressed in Scripture and in ecclesiastical dogma, as in a shell, accommodated to man's understanding by figurative and metaphorical phrases. Reason strips off this shell and outer covering, and by means of dialectic or speculation raises faith to knowledge. His system took on a pantheistic col-

[1] Gieseler, vol. ii., p. 103, notes 14 and 15.

oring, but he maintained that he was endeavoring to affirm Christian theism. God himself, the Absolute, is supersubstantial above all the categories of existence. The reason of man can see, therefore, only the manifestations of God, not God himself. God is created in things ; he realizes himself in what he produces, as our intelligence in our thoughts. All things return to him, and find in him their final end. Evil is not positive nor eternal, it exists, but as a lack, a negation which must pass away when all is realized and attains perfection. In him are the germs of the whole later contradictions of scholastic and mystic.[1]

He was hardly noticed in his own age, although Maurice calls him " the metaphysician of the ninth century ; one of the acutest metaphysicians of any century." As Allen says : " John Scotus only confused and puzzled his age ; he seemed to be orthodox, but in a fashion hardly available for practical purposes. What could such an age as his do with a man who talked about evil as a negation, as having no real existence, or who defined predestination as the consciousness of achieving one's destiny? At a later time, the justice which he failed to receive in his lifetime was meted out to him, and he was condemned as a heretic." [2]

He was selected, however, by Hincmar to undertake the refutation of Gottschalk in the famous controversy about predestination. Gottschalk had shown a restlessness and uneasiness in the monas-

[1] Maurice, vol. i., pp. 467–501 ; Ampère, vol. iii., pp. 123–146.
[2] Allen, pp. 190, 191.

tery of Fulda, in which he had been placed by his Saxon parents while he was yet a child. At last a dispensation was granted by the Synod of Mainz, Gottschalk having pleaded compulsion, and the plea being held valid on the ground that a Saxon could thus forfeit his freedom only when the ceremony had been attested by a witness of the same nationality. Rabanus Maurus, the abbot of Fulda, appealed from this decision, and it was reversed by the Emperor Louis, and Gottschalk was allowed only a transfer to another monastery. Accordingly he left Fulda and entered the monastery of Orbais in the diocese of Soissons. Here he began the study of Augustine and Fulgentius and the other fathers of his school. He became an ardent advocate of the doctrine of predestination, and began writing letters on the subject to his friends and former companions. The doctrine of unconditional predestination was asserted in the strongest terms, based on the immutability of God and his absolute wisdom and power. Consequently the destiny of man could not depend on his own conduct, nor be in suspense until death. Men were not only chosen or predestined to salvation, but also to everlasting punishment, for the unchangeableness of the divine decree required this double predestination, and with God foreknowledge and foreordination must be identical. This not only denied the freedom of the will from the first act of man to the last, but also gave no scope for the agency or ministration of the church, whose rights and services could have no avail in the salvation of the soul ordained to perdi-

tion. In reality the church system was semi-Pelagian, and must have been in order to give scope for its operations. It is a fact familiar to the students of church history that fatalism in theology has generally been the creed of those who have rebelled most stubbornly against ecclesiastic tyranny. But God's service is freedom ; fatalism in this regard takes one out of man's hands into God's hands, and such a theory has always been the inspiration of independent and daring conduct. It is the very foundation-stone of Mahometanism, and was the inspiring principle of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Rabanus Maurus was not friendly to Gottschalk ; opposed him in a treatise published in 840, and pursued him relentlessly. Gottschalk appealed in person to Mainz, but was condemned, scourged, and handed over to Hincmar. Few will be disposed to call in question the comment of Dümmler, that it was a harsh and unrighteous sentence, and leaves a stain on the reputation of Rabanus. Treated as badly by Hincmar in the West—condemned, degraded from his order, and scourged—Gottschalk was consigned to perpetual imprisonment in the monastery of Hautvilliers. Persecutions began to take the place of argument in theological discussions. At this time, however, the sympathy of many was aroused, and a movement in his favor set in. Ratramnus took his side, Prudentius of Troyes, Amola and Remigius of Lyons, with Florus, a presbyter of Lyons, and Servatus Lupus. Hincmar was now at a disadvantage, not having much ability in theological speculation.

It was at this point that John Scotus Erigena was called in. In this discussion he shows the strong influence of the Timæus and the Pseudo-Dionysian writings. No irresistible omnipresent purpose working from all eternity is to be found in the Timæus, and the purely negative character of evil is set forth in the Pseudo-Dionysius. These ideas John Scotus also took up, making an extended use of dialectic. He first laid down the principle that philosophy and religion can never be at variance; secondly, he reproduces, as Mullinger has so interestingly pointed out, the passage from Rabanus, in which he speaks of the value of dialectic to the defender of the faith, and that it ought not to be left to the opponent.[1] This prominent use of dialectic roused opposition, and the unpopularity of Hincmar, together with the sympathy expressed for Gottschalk, but especially the peculiar ideas advanced by John Scotus, drew much attention to the case. John appealed to the Greek fathers and philosophers, and referred particularly to Martianus Capella. The hostility to Hincmar from Lyons was partly due to the rivalry of the two great ecclesiastical centres, Rheims and Lyons. The position is illustrated most clearly in Prudentius. Rarely are the dogmatist, as seen in Prudentius, and the rationalist, as seen in John Scotus, to be found in stronger contrast. Prudentius said he detected in John the Pelagian treachery, the folly of Origen and the madness of the Collyrian[2] heresy. He says that John

[1] Mullinger, p. 185, note 1.
[2] Probably the Collyridians. A sect in the fourth century who

Scotus reminds him very forcibly of Pelagius, and he speaks of "that Capella of yours" as the source of many of his errors. In spite of the great names and strong feeling connected with this controversy, one cannot estimate the literature very highly. The main points at issue, the fundamental principles, were grasped by none of the disputants except, perhaps, by John Scotus Erigena, and by him in such a way that they would be still more thoroughly concealed from every one else. The dispute was one of words, or rather one of personal feeling and rivalry. The decisions were indefinite, and, as Mozley says: "There is nothing in the language of Kiersy to which the most rigid predestinarian would not subscribe." As it was, the chief decision was reversed at Valence in 855, and the views advanced by John Scotus were condemned. Ampère says of John Scotus in relation to Hincmar: "A very convenient ally, but quite a dangerous one, whose assistance had only served to compromise." "Mere learning and skill," says Mullinger, "could not atone for the evident laxity of doctrine of the brilliant Irishman."[1] Of the last of his life little or nothing is known. It is conjectured, however, that he remained at the Frankish Court, and continued to be one of the chief ornaments of the palace school, though William of Malmesbury says that he went to England, taught at Oxford, and died as

seem to have transferred the ceremonial of the worship of Ceres to that of the Virgin Mary.

[1] Mullinger, p. 189.

abbot of Malmesbury, being put to death by his own pupils in 891.

The invasions of the Northmen were less fatal on the Continent than in England. The traditions which after the time of Alfred the Great are no longer to be discerned in England may plainly be traced in France. Indeed, the influence of John Scotus is of that vaguer and more general kind which is felt rather than seen, but from Rabanus we may perceive the handing down of the unmistakable and unbroken tradition.

Eric of Auxerre, the pupil of both Rabanus and Servatus Lupus, continued the intellectual line, and Auxerre became one of the chief centres of learning. Among Eric's pupils was Remi of Auxerre, who taught at Rheims and Paris. At Rheims were also to be found Reminghad, Hildebald, and Blidulfus, the founders of the school in Lotharingia, and Sigulfus and Frodoard, who carried on the school at Rheims and prepared the way for Gerbert. At Paris Eric had for his pupil Odo of Cluny, a monk from St. Martin of Tours. In the foundation of Cluny, in 910, Odo became a famous teacher, and revived the Benedictine rule and cultivation of letters. He raised Cluny to the very highest position in learning and ecclesiastical order, famous for its scholars in the tenth century, among whom were Aymer, Baldwin, Gottfried, and others, and in the eleventh century Gregory VI., Hildebrand, and the popes of the restoration.

CHAPTER XXX.

ACCESSION OF LOUIS THE PIOUS—WEAKNESS OF THE IMPERIAL UNITY—RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY—REGULATION OF THE EMPIRE—INTRODUCTION OF PRIMOGENITURE—HUMILIATION OF LOUIS.

THE unity which Charles had built up and left to his only son Louis lasted through the period of the latter's reign, but the forces of disunion were present and growing all the time. We have noted many of them already, and have seen how strong they were, for in spite of the underlying race unity of the German people, there were between the various tribes which had come to make up the empire vast differences which seemed to offer well-nigh irresistible obstacles to any real union. There were differences in training and in civilization, some tribes being almost completely Romanized, others which first learned of Roman institutions through their submission to Charles, and many with memories of an earlier independence of a tribal, if not national political unity. There were differences in laws and customs, few, if any, having a written code of formal laws, but each having a mass of traditions, cus-

toms and usages, more or less peculiar to itself. There were differences in climatic and geographical conditions with all that these implied. There were also the outlying foes threatening the empire at every point ; the unconquered, unconverted Danes and other Northmen, ready with their wandering bands and pirate ships to attack and devastate the northern boundaries and the western coasts, the barbarian savage Slavs and other Turanian hordes threatening continually the whole eastern frontier, and there were the fierce and fanatical Saracens in Spain and along the African shores of the Mediterranean as a constant menace on the South. Nor were these imaginary dangers, for as an actual fact the invasions and ravages from all these directions began before the middle of the ninth century ; nay, some even in the reign of Louis himself, and continued with increasing vigor and destructiveness until after the middle of the tenth century,[1] thus making the tenth century the dark age *par excellence*, the *sæculum obscurum* of the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the elements of feudalism forming, as we have seen, during the period of the weak or almost non-existing central system preceding the Carolingian monarchy, although having for an object the affording of that protection to property, to rights, and to life, which the central authority was not strong enough to give, became more and more strength-

[1] The first definite attack of the Northmen took place in the sack and burning of Rouen in 840, their final settlement taking place in Normandy in 911 ; the final victory over the Huns was gained by Otto I. in 955 ; while the Saracens began by making themselves masters of Sicily in 837.

ened, established, and organized, exercised an undermining influence, and were a constant menace and obstacle to any central authority. Charles, it has been seen, recognized these elements, and not being able to banish them, used them for his purposes, but he had neither conquered nor thoroughly subordinated them. The institution, if such it may be called, grew stronger and more completely organized, until it became the rival, and for a time the successful rival of the empire and the monarchy, which really had to pass through and develop out of it.

As if all this were not enough, there was in the very imperial power itself, as it existed in its Germanic form, the root principle of its own weakness. This was the Teutonic theory of the inheritance of kingly power. Again and again the unity of the Merovingian monarchy had been broken up by this principle of equal division among the sons of the king. The Carolingian mayors of the palace had been able to re-establish a unity which the Carolingian kings, Pippin and Charles the Great, had been able to maintain by fortunate conditions which they did not make. Pippin's oldest brother, Karlmann, had retired to a monastery, voluntarily we are led to believe, but very fortunately for Pippin, within six years after the two brothers had received from their father, Charles Martel, the power which he divided between them. Three years after a divided monarchy had been inherited by Pippin's sons, Charles and Karlmann, Karlmann had died most opportunely, and Charles, receiving the allegiance of his brother's subjects, found himself reigning

alone. On that foundation he had built up a united empire, but its strength and unity existed in his own person; his force, his ability, his character, and the fear and reverence for his name energized the form which he had constructed.

The only outside influence for the establishment and continuance of unity, and it was a very strong one, rested in the organization of the church. Karlmann and Pippin, under the guidance of Boniface, and Charles himself, under the inspiration of the pope and of his own theories and conceptions, had done their best to make this influence effective by the strong ecclesiastical organization, with its hierarchy of presbyters, bishops, metropolitans, and provincial and general assemblies, which they had established in the kingdom, and which had been still further emphasized and unified by the pre-eminence and superiority accorded to the papacy as the great head and central power of the church. Political institutions sometimes gain a strength which they still retain even after they have passed into weaker hands, but such could not be the case with the empire of Charles: the foundation was neither deep enough, nor strong enough, nor complete enough; it had been in existence for too short a time, and the materials out of which it was created were too heterogeneous. It is a question whether Charles himself really hoped or expected his empire to remain. Like his predecessors, he thought only of the equal division among his sons, and, as we have noted in the division he proposed in 806, no reference was made to the imperial power which he regarded as

not to be considered in such a division or as something personal to himself. Once, again, circumstances over which he had no control conspired to make possible the longer continuance of imperial unity. Two of his three legitimate sons having died, Louis alone was left to receive the undivided inheritance from his father. Bernhard, however, the son of Pippin of Italy, who died in 810, had received his father's share in Italy in 812 from the hands of Charles himself.[1]

Louis, on the other hand, started out with a new policy, undoubtedly suggested by the pope, and one with which we ourselves cannot fail to sympathize. The chief difficulty was that he began too soon. He determined to preserve the unity of the imperial power, and to hand it on unbroken and undivided to one of his sons, and to give to the other two—for he had three sons, Lothair, Pippin, and Louis[2]—kingdoms which they might hold in mutual dependence on their older brother. He thus departed from the old German custom of coequal division, and introduced the rule of primogeniture, the exclusive right of the firstborn. This, a peculiar and essential characteristic of feudalism, shows the influence that feudal principles already had gained. The results of this attempt will appear as the history proceeds.

Louis was in Aquitania, and did not reach Aix-la-Chapelle until a month after his father's death. With the unanimous consent of all the Franks he

[1] Einhard, "Vita Karoli," ch. xix.
[2] Louis, the German, sometimes called Ludwig.

ascended the throne, and at once took up the affairs of State. An important assembly was held in August of this same year. With commendable zeal he at once dispatched *missi* to all parts of the empire to establish his authority, to administer justice and to remedy abuses. He summoned to him his nephew Bernhard, king of Italy, to receive his fealty, and sent him back laden with gifts, and assured of imperial favor and support. To his sons, Lothair and Pippin, he gave kingdoms as his father had given to him and his brothers. Lothair he established in Bavaria and Pippin in Aquitania. His third son, Louis, was too young to receive any appointment.[1] Ambassadors and deputations, sent from many different peoples, were received and dismissed. A new emperor, Leo V., having succeeded to the throne of Constantinople in 813, and having despatched ambassadors to the court of the Franks, an alliance was made with him. In the North, Louis took up the defence of Harold, the exiled king of the Danes, and the Saxons and other Northern tribes were ordered to make a campaign against the Danes in his support. Louis had gone further, and had undertaken to reform the morals of the court,[2] which had been far from pure during the reign of Charles,[3] but in so doing he had removed the chief friends and advisers of his father, thus permitting the beginning of an opposition party. At the head of this party were Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, and

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 814; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 201.
[2] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 297, 298; "Cap. de Discip. Palat. Aquis."
[3] Einhard, "Vita," c. xviii.

his brother, Count Wala, cousins of Charles and grandsons of Charles Martel, their father being Bernhard, Charles' uncle. Three of the illegitimate sons of Charles—Drogo, Hugo, and Theoderic—and the five sisters of Louis were induced to take up the monastic life, the favorite resort for dethroned sovereigns, royal rivals still dangerous, or persons whose presence might be disagreeable.

The relations of Louis with the pope did not begin auspiciously. The Romans, followers, probably, of the leaders in the revolt of 799, had taken advantage of the death of Charles and the removal of imperial protection to rise against Leo, and their conspiracy having been discovered, the pope himself seized and publicly put to death all of the principal offenders. When this was reported to Louis he was highly indignant.[1] The pope had acted with a passion and severity unworthy of him and of his high office, and had also infringed upon the imperial rights. Louis at once settled the affairs of Harold and of the Slavs, returned to his palace at Frankfort, and sent his nephew, Bernhard of Italy, who had been aiding him in his Northern campaign, to Rome to make an investigation. Bernhard was taken ill soon after his arrival, but sent back word to the emperor by Count Gerold, informing him of all he had learned of the affair. Gerold was followed by three papal legates sent to explain and to justify the pope's position and acts. In consequence of the shock and anxiety, the pope, who was now an old man, fell seriously ill. His enemies, now thor-

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 815; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 202.

oughly enraged, taking advantage of his illness, rose against him, pillaged and burned the farms he had established in the papal territories, and resolved to march to Rome to compel him to restore their confiscated property. Bernhard immediately despatched a force under Winnigis, duke of Spoleto, against them, and put down the uprising, reporting the affair to the emperor. On June 12th of the following year, 816, Pope Leo died, and on the 22d Stephen V. was consecrated as his successor. The tumults and factions in Rome probably furnished the reason for such haste, and for not waiting for the imperial confirmation, a right which seems to have been unquestioned at this time. However, Stephen exacted from the Romans the oath of fealty to the emperor, and two months later he set out to visit Louis, having sent two legates to announce his consecration, and to inform the emperor of his intended visit.

The attitude of Louis to the bishop was as yet unknown. He was in a different position from that which Charles had occupied, having received his title and authority by inheritance, and having been crowned without the intervention of the pope or the presence of any papal legate. Louis at once set out to receive the pope at Rheims, and sent forward to meet him Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, John, the archbishop of Arles, and the archchaplain, Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne. The pope, accompanied by King Bernhard, arrived at Rheims in October. Louis met him a mile from the cathedral, and threw himself at his feet. The pope an-

nounced the reasons for his journey, the explanation of his position at Rome, the needs of the church, and his desire for the renewal of the compact of friendship and of support between emperor and pope.

Gifts and courtesies were exchanged for three days, with frequent conferences regarding the relations of state and church, and proposed legislation on the subject. The fourth day being Sunday, after celebrating mass the pope crowned Louis and the empress, Irmingard, having brought an imperial crown for the purpose from Rome. Louis, however, already had spoken of himself as the "Emperor Augustus by the ordinance of divine providence,"[1] and it is doubtful if this coronation was regarded by him as anything more than his recognition by the church, and the sign and seal of the bond of union between the two. Yet in a capitulary of November, 816, issued just after the papal coronation, he says: "Crowned by divine will, ruling the Rome Empire,"[2] after which, however, he reverts to the earlier form.

Stephen returned to Rome, where, possibly in fulfilment of the requirement made of him at this time, he assembled a synod and issued a decretal ordaining that in future the popes should be elected by the cardinal bishops and the Roman clergy, in the presence of the Roman Senate and people, but that their consecration should take place in the presence of the imperial ambassadors.[3] At the

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 261, "Constitutio prima," A.D. 815.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 267, "Cap. legi add."
[3] Lea, p. 42, referring to Gratian Decret, Dist. 63, Can. 28; Alzog, vol. ii., p. 255.

same time the emperor held a council at his palace in Compiègne with his bishops, abbots, and counts, in which were drawn up capitularies setting forth the duel for the laity and the judgment of the cross for ecclesiastics, in order to settle cases when witnesses were hopelessly contradictory.[1]

Stephen having died January 24th, 817, shortly after his return from the coronation of Louis, Paschal I. was unanimously elected and consecrated on the very next day. He at once sent presents to the emperor with a letter of excuse, in which he represented that the honor of the pontificate had been thrust upon him, not only in the face of his refusal, but in spite of all his efforts to resist it. He also sent an embassy to beg the emperor to ratify and confirm the alliance made with his predecessors, a request which the emperor granted.[2] At this time also Louis is said to have confirmed to the pope and to his successors the city of Rome with its duchy, the cities of Tuscany and Campagna, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the Pentapolis, which had been originally restored by his grandfather, Pippin, and his father, Charles; the district of Sabina, as originally presented by his father, Charles; places in Lombard Tuscany, the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, the patrimony in Benevento, Salerno, Calabria, and Naples, granting also the free canonical election of the pope. Regarding this donation Lea very justly remarks: "He took care to reserve to himself the sovereignty

[1] Boretius, vol. i., p. 268, "Cap. legi add.," ch. i.
[2] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 817; M.G. SS., vol. i., pp. 203, 204.

of the territories whose usufruct he bestowed on St. Peter, by the clause, 'Saving in all things our dominion over the said duchies and their subjection to us.' This clause and a succeeding one, by which the emperor reserves the right of interference in case of tyranny and oppression, dispose me strongly to regard the document as genuine. The abnegation of the right to control the papal elections is probably an interpolation of a later period, as also the extensive donations of territory in Central and Southern Italy, which either was retained by the Carolingian emperors or else never belonged to them." [1]

The general assembly for the year 817 was held in July at Aix-la-Chapelle, and here Louis carried out what had probably been his part of the arrangements arrived at in the conference with Stephen V. in the previous year. The entire German principle of inheritance was radically changed, that of primogeniture being adopted in its place, and from this may be traced the beginning of the civil strife and discord which filled the rest of the period, and resulted in the final division of the empire in the treaty of Verdun, in 843, leaving the title of emperor a merely nominal one. For at this assembly Lothair, the oldest son, was crowned by Louis, and associated with him in the title and dignity of emperor,[2] each of the two other sons receiving only the title of "king" and a limited territory. The arrangement established for this inheritance of the

[1] Lea, pp. 165, 166 and note 1; Boehmer, vol. i., pp. 241, 242.
[2] Jaffé, vol. iv., p. 445; Einhardi, Ep. 7.

power and possessions of Louis is set forth in the document "The Regulation of the Empire," though sometimes erroneously called the "Division of the Empire." "It has not seemed wise," the emperor declared, "either to us or to those who know, that the unity of the empire, preserved to us by God, should be broken through love of our sons or through favor to any man, lest perchance in this way a cause of offence to holy church might arise, and we might incur the disapproval of him in whose power the laws of all kingdoms stand; therefore, after three days of fasting, of almsgiving, and of prayer, in accordance with the divine will, it has pleased both us and all our people that our oldest son, Lothair, crowned by us with the imperial diadem, in the appointed manner, be constituted by the general vote our colleague and successor in the empire, if God so will; but upon the others, his brothers, Pippin and Louis, it has pleased the general council to confer the royal dignity and to appoint them over the places to be mentioned." Pippin accordingly was established as king over Aquitania and Gascony, with the Mark of Toulouse and a few estates in Burgundy, while Louis received Bavaria with some neighboring territory, the district which had been bestowed formerly upon Lothair.

More or less independent rights were to be held by these two kings, but once a year they were, together or singly, to visit their older brother with gifts, which he was to return in larger measure, bearing them all possible aid whenever necessary They were not to undertake any wars against foreign ene-

mies without his permission, nor could either marry without his approval. If either of the brothers died leaving heirs, his kingdom was not to be divided among them, but was to go to the one whom the people might choose; and if either of the brothers died without heirs, his kingdom was to revert to the older surviving brother.[1]

Several capitularies also were put forth, probably at this same assembly, regarding the constitution and condition of the church. The Benedictine rule, as revived by Benedict of Aniane, was imposed anew upon all monasteries, and the canonical life, according to the rules of Chrodegang of Metz, was authoritatively established for all cathedral clergy. It was also declared that church property under Louis and his successors should suffer neither division nor diminution. Free episcopal elections were guaranteed, the ordination of serfs was regulated, episcopal authority sustained, and the safety and honor of churches upheld, together with minor regulations regarding the conduct of the clergy.[2] Thus a strong political and ecclesiastical order seemed to have been secured.

Hardly had the assembly been dissolved, however, when word came to the emperor that his nephew, Bernhard, yielding to evil counsels, was about to declare himself independent, to overthrow Louis, and to usurp the imperial power. The causes of this conspiracy were said to have been the making of Lothair co-emperor, and the fact that in

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 270–273; "Ordinatio Imperii," A.D. 817.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 273–278.

the provisions of 817 Bernhard was not considered.[1] But the rebellion really had a deeper significance than this. Italy, it is said, was ready to cast off the imperial yoke. Two great bishops, Anselm of Milan and Wulfhold of Cremona, besides many nobles, had given him their allegiance as an independent sovereign, and Pope Paschal himself was believed to be favorably disposed.[2] Louis immediately raised a large army and marched towards Italy. The premature exposure of the plot and the determination and resolution on the part of the emperor filled Bernhard with dismay, and, his supporters beginning to fall away from him, he himself threw down his arms and surrendered with his followers. Even Theodulf of Orleans was implicated. By the general assembly the nobles involved in this conspiracy were condemned to death, but by the clemency of the emperor the sentence was commuted to blinding, from the effects of which Bernhard died in three days, being then only nineteen years of age. The bishops who had taken part in the plan were degraded, and together with the emperor's natural brothers, Drogo, Hugo, and Theodoric, sent into monasteries.

In October, 818, the Empress Irmingard, whom Louis had married in 798, died, and, urged, it was said, by his nobles, who feared that he might give up the reigns of government and retire to a monastery, he was induced to marry again. The daughters of the nobles were presented to him, and from

[1] "Chron. Moiss.," an. 817; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 312.
[2] Milman, bk. v., ch. ii.

them he selected as his wife Judith, the beautiful daughter of Count Welf, of noble lineage. In 821, at the assembly held in May of that year at Nimeguen, he republished the "Regulation of the Empire" made in 817, and had it confirmed by the oaths of the nobles. At the assembly held in Thionville in October, large numbers of the Franks were present, and the oath was taken by those who had not taken it in Nimeguen. Here the marriage of Lothair with Irmingard, the daughter of Count Hugo of Tours, was celebrated. An amnesty was declared for all who had taken part in the uprising under Bernhard, among whom was Theodulf of Orleans, and their possessions were restored to them. Adalhard was also recalled and again established as abbot of Corbie. Important capitularies were also put forth regarding the *missi* and their duties.[1]

In 822, at a council held in Attigny, Louis effected a reconciliation with his natural brothers, Drogo, Hugo, and Theodoric, whom he had forced to take the tonsure. "In the presence of all the people," says the chronicler, "he made a full confession and submitted to penance for this act, as well as for his severities against Bernhard, and against the brothers Adalhard and Count Wala. He also, with scrupulous zeal, made every effort to seek out and to remedy all the unjust acts of the same sort committed either by his father or by himself."[2] Whatever may be said of the religious nature of such an act,

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 288–291.
[2] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 822; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 209.

it was not an edifying spectacle, and from a political point of view weakened instead of strengthened the emperor's position.

After his self-humiliation, the Government of Italy, having become vacant by the death of Bernhard, and severe disorders having arisen, he sent Lothair not as king, as some writers assert, but merely for the temporary purpose of restoring order, as the representative of the imperial power. Lothair took as his counsellors, Count, then Monk Wala, and Gerung, chief usher, to aid him in restoring peace and order.[1] Lothair had restored order to the Italian affairs, and was preparing to return when Paschalis sent for him to turn back and to visit Rome. With his father's knowledge and consent Lothair accepted the invitation. He was welcomed with great honor and rejoicing at Rome, and on Easter Day, 823, in St. Peter's Church, received the crown of the realm and the title of "Emperor and Augustus." The pope also granted to him the power over the Roman people which the previous emperors had held. He at once informed Louis in these words: "By the chief pontiff and with your consent and will, I have received the benediction, the honor, the title of the imperial office, the crown, and the sword for the defence of the church and the empire."[2]

Here, again, Lothair received nothing that he did not have before, both in title and in power, and

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 822; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 209; Boehmer, p. 273.

[2] "Vita Walæ," ii., 17; M. G. SS., vol. ii., p. 564; Boehmer, p. 275.

therefore, as in the case of Louis, his father, this, too, could signify only a ceremony of ecclesiastical recognition and sanction. However, once more an emperor was crowned in Rome, and a strong and important precedent was being established. The motives of the popes are not far to seek, and their purpose begins already to appear. Two things were necessary to support them in the new and exalted position which the Carolingian Empire had made possible for them. First, to maintain by every means their alliance with the new empire which had been raised up, it might appear for the very purpose of their protection and defence ; and, secondly, to preserve the unity of that empire as far as possible in dependence, or at least in reliance upon them.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BIRTH OF CHARLES THE BALD — DISORDER IN ITALY—THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION—THE TWO PARTIES—REBELLION OF LOTHAIR—THE FIELD OF LIES—DEPOSITION OF LOUIS—RESTORATION—RECONCILIATION OF LOTHAIR—DEATH OF LOUIS — BATTLE OF FONTENAY — THE STRASSBURG OATHS—TREATY OF VERDUN—FALL OF THE EMPIRE.

OW, however, were about to appear the real difficulties in the way of carrying out the plans of Louis, and the fatal mistake which he had made in beginning too soon his regulation of imperial affairs. On June 13th, 823, a son, the famous Charles the Bald, was born to Louis and his second wife, the young, beautiful, accomplished, and ambitious Judith, and the political aspirations of the mother, the aims and interests of the church, and the jealousy of the other sons of Louis began to clash and to come into open conflict. Lothair, who had just returned with the report of what he had attempted and partially accomplished in Italy, stood as godfather at the baptism of the infant prince. The

next step was to provide a kingdom for him, as Louis had already done in the case of the other sons, Pippin and Louis the German. Lothair finally agreed to his father's earnest request, and took an oath that whatever portion of the realm Louis might give Charles, he himself would be his guardian and protector against all his enemies.

News now came to the emperor of still further disorders in Italy. The presence of Lothair in Italy, his energetic conduct, and his decision not to support the claims of the papacy over the privileges and immunities of the monastery of Farfa[1] had aroused the hostility of the Roman clergy, and at the same time drawn to his side the enemies of the temporal power, more frequently and firmly exercised by the pope. Thus two parties, an imperial and a papal, were forming in Rome, and new occasions of strife presented themselves. Two of the princes of the papal palace, Theodore and his son-in-law, Leo, had been blinded and then beheaded at the Lateran by order or counsel of the pope, it was said, and apparently without any trial, on account of their unswerving loyalty to the young emperor, Lothair.[2]

Louis prepared to send his *missi*, Adalung, abbot of Saint Vedast, and Humfrid, count of Coire, to make a thorough investigation, but before their departure the papal legates—John, bishop of Blanche-Selve, and Benedict, archdeacon of Rome—arrived, requesting the emperor to banish the suspicion that

[1] Gregorovius, vol. iii., pp. 44–46.
[2] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 823; M. G. SS., vol. i., pp. 210, 211.

the pope had decreed the death of the two men, and proposing an investigation.[1]

The emperor agreed to this, dismissed them, and despatched his commissioners to establish the truth of the facts. But having arrived at Rome, they could not ascertain anything with certainty in the matter, because the pope, unwilling to submit to the investigation, cleared himself by an oath, in which a large number of the bishops united. Furthermore, those who had committed the crime being serfs of the Roman Church, the pope took up their cause with great vigor, and maintained that the victims had been guilty of high treason and had been justly put to death. Bishop John, the Librarian Sergius, and Leo, Master of the Knights, were then sent by him with the imperial commissioner to report this to the emperor. Of course Louis could do nothing, but the event illustrates the increased arrogance and independence of the pope, and the beginning of strained relations and conflict of authority with the emperor. Soon afterwards, May 11th, 824, Paschalis died, and was buried in his own chapel, the Romans having refused him burial in St. Peter's Church.[2] The parties in Rome at once divided in the new election, but the imperial party triumphed, through the influence of Wala, the imperial counsellor, who was in Rome at the time, and Eugene II. was consecrated June 11th; not, however, it is said, before he had taken an oath in rec-

[1] Astronomus, "Vita Hlud.," ch. xxxvii.; Boehmer, p. 280; "Einhardi Ann.," an. 823; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 210.

[2] Thegan, ch. xxx.

ognition of the imperial rights.[1] Having announced his election to Louis, the emperor sent Lothair as his associate in the empire to adjust the relations with the new pope and the Roman people by an imperial statute.[2]

Honorably received by the people, Lothair explained his commission. In the events which followed there could be no question of the emperor's supremacy in Rome. He expressed his regret at the attitude asserted by the papacy towards the emperor and towards Rome, and remonstrated against the violence and insults suffered by those who were friendly to the emperor and to the Franks. He censured the avarice and incapacity of the papal government, and the ignorance or indolence of the popes. He expressed his determination to reform such abuses. It was evident that "the already corrupt ecclesiastical state, which was nothing more than a great ecclesiastical immunity under imperial protection, demanded a firmer settlement."[3]

In fulfilment of this purpose Lothair issued as a capitulary in November, 825, the famous Roman Constitution, "Constitutio Romana." "We have decreed," it declared, "that all under the protection of the pope or emperor shall keep their rights inviolate, any infringement of them to be punished by death. No further depredations, called confiscations, shall be allowed, whether the pope be living or dead, and proper amendment must be made for

[1] Pauli cont. Rom.; M. G. SS. Lang, p. 203; Boehmer, p. 281.
[2] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 824; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 212.
[3] Gregorovius, vol. iii., p. 57.

past misdeeds. § 3. It is our will that to the election of the pontiff no one may presume to go, neither freeman nor slave, who puts any obstacle in the way of the Romans, to whom alone the custom of electing the pontiff has been granted in accordance with the regulations of the holy fathers. If any one shall presume to do this against our orders, let him be sent into exile.

"§ 4. It is our will that two commissioners be appointed, one on our part and one on the part of the apostolic lord, who shall annually announce to us how each duke or judge administers justice to the people, and how they observe our established law. These commissioners we decree shall bring, first, to the notice of the apostolic lord all complaints which shall arise by reason of the negligence of the dukes or of the judges. Then either directly by these commissioners the necessary corrections shall be made, or if not, we must be notified by our commissioners that by our commissioners, under our direction, the remedies may be applied.

"All the Roman people are to be asked under what law (Frank, Lombard, Roman, or other) each will live, and each shall be judged according to that law. In regard to ecclesiastical properties unjustly invaded under any pretext, as if by license of the pontiff, and in regard to those which have not yet been restored, and yet have been unjustly invaded by the power of the pontiffs, it is our will that correction be made by our commissioners. We forbid further depredations and other injustice within our territories, and those which have been committed

must be made good. We order also that all judges or others by whom judicial power is exercised, in this city of Rome, must come before us, that we may know their number and names and give a personal admonition to each. Lastly, every man who desires God's favor and ours must manifest all obedience and respect to the present pontiff." [1]

The oath to be taken by the Romans, binding them to the support of this constitution, was as follows: "I promise by Almighty God, and by these four holy Gospels, and by this cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the body of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, that from this day I will be faithful to our lords, the emperors Louis and Lothair, all the days of my life, according to my strength and understanding, without fraud or evil intent, saving the fidelity I have promised to the apostolic lord; and that I will not consent to the election of a pontiff in this Roman See otherwise than canonically and justly, according to my strength and understanding, and he who shall be elected by my consent shall not be consecrated pontiff until he has taken by oath, in the presence of the commissioners of the lord emperor and of the people, a pledge such as the Lord Pope Eugene has taken in writing of his own accord for the preservation of all." [2]

It is probable that by Lothair's regulation of

[1] Boretius, vol. i., pp. 322–324; "Constitutio Romana," A.D. 824.

[2] Boretius, vol. i., p. 324.

affairs greater rights were given to the Roman people, and perhaps a larger share in the choice of their magistrates. At any rate, peace reigned during the six years' pontificate of Eugene II., and it is a significant fact that in the "Pontifical Book" of the lives of the popes the life of Eugene occupies only one or two lines. His successor, Valentine I., had occupied the papacy for only a few days when he died, and Gregory IV. succeeded him. Einhard significantly remarks that he was not consecrated until the imperial legate came to Rome and examined the election of the people to find out how it had been conducted.[1] During his long pontificate, 827–844, took place the great events connected with the breaking up of the unity of the Carolingian Empire. In 829 Charles, the young son of the beautiful Judith, being six years of age, the emperor determined to provide for him a kingdom, as he had done already for his brothers, and according to the agreement made with Lothair at the young child's baptism. At an assembly held in Worms in August, in the presence of Lothair and Louis of Bavaria, he assigned to Charles Alemannia, Rhaetia, and part of Burgundy, over which Charles was appointed duke. This arrangement was the first step for Charles towards carrying out the ambitious plans of his mother to create for him a kingdom, and from this time until the emperor's death, in 840, no less than five divisions of the empire were made to satisfy the growing demands of the empress and her son. This first division affected only Lothair, who had

[1] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 827; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 216.

already promised, as we have seen, to give to Charles whatever district of the empire his father might desire. But now, when the young favorite's portion threatened to diminish so greatly the part assigned to him in 817, goaded on by his father-in-law and by other of his intimate followers, he began to consider how he could annul what he had done. Even although the division and formal settlement of 817 were not yet abolished, it seemed in the view of the other brothers only a question of time when this would occur, and that, sooner or later, if Louis remained under the influence which at present ruled him, Charles was destined to be his successor in the government of the empire.[1]

Already two parties were forming in the empire—the party of the young emperor, Lothair, and the party of the empress and her son. To the former belonged by natural affiliation Lothair's two brothers, with their immediate relations and followers, and the counsellors and advisers whom Lothair had gathered around him in anticipation of the time when, according to the expressed will of his father, he should be sole emperor. To the other belonged the empress and those upon whom her fascinations had been exerted, notably a certain Bernhard, count of Barcelona, son of Duke William of Toulouse, who up to this time had held the command of the Spanish Mark. The emperor himself was under the control of this party. The older sons, who for so long had regarded the empire as settled on themselves, were naturally indignant, and opposition was

[1] "Ann. Mett.," an. 830; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 330.

raised against the emperor, in which opposition Hugo, Lothair's father-in-law, was quite prominent. Discovering the plots against him, the emperor, or rather the party under whose influence he acted, conceived two counter measures. By the first, Lothair, after the conclusion of the assembly, was dismissed into Italy, and we note that the years of his reign are counted from this time. By this act Lothair was confined to Italy and excluded from a share in the imperial functions.[1] With this exclusion vanishes for the time the essential element of the "Regulation" of 817, the supremacy of one brother over the others. By the second, Duke Bernhard was called to be chamberlain of the palace, the young Charles was placed under his protection, and he himself was raised to be the second man in the kingdom, next to the emperor;[2] this latter being a measure which did not tend to eradicate the seeds of discord, but rather increased them. Yet Christmas, we are told by the chronicler, was celebrated with great joy and exultation.[3] In the spring of the next year Bernhard, by his own advice, being sent with the whole Frankish army against Brittany,[4] it was urged as a serious charge against the emperor, that against the Christian religion, and in spite of his vow, without any public utility or real necessity, but deluded by the counsels of depraved advisors, he had ordered a general expedition to be made in Lent, and had held an assembly on Maundy

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 445, 446; "Einhardi," Ep. 7.
[2] "Einhardi Ann.," an. 829; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 218.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] "Ann. Bert.," an. 830; M. G. SS., vol. i., p. 423.

Thursday.[1] In April rebellion broke out, the immediate cause being the dominant political influence of the empress. Her stepsons and some of the nobles with them, being influenced by hate and jealousy against her and her own son, as they saw the control which she exercised over their father, felt that they had strong ground for fear that Charles might at last succeed as heir to his father's rule.

Louis was popular with his subjects, gentle-minded, and for the most part a lover of mercy and justice, as well as active and brave. He had been bold, resolute, firm, and wise. He had issued laws for the regulation of the state and for the reform of the church ; he had sent his royal commissioners to administer justice and to do away with usurped rights ; by royal authority he had imposed upon all monks the Benedictine rule revived by Benedictus of Ainane ; upon all cathedral clergy the rules of the canonical life instituted by Chrodegang ; he had crowned his oldest son as co-emperor, and had assigned their rights and titles to the other two ; he had suppressed rebellion and overthrown those opponents who resisted him.

Thus with a milder and purer character, Louis seemed to keep up the vigor of his father's rule, and to have inherited his father's power and fortune. Never had the boundaries of the empire been so extended or its authority appeared so commanding. Without his father's faults he had reached to more than even his father's greatness.

[1] "Ann. Bert. Mett. Exanctoratio," ch. iii. ; M. G. SS., vol. iii., p. 368. See Boehmer, p. 310.

But it was the illusion of only sixteen years. It was true that he had not his father's faults, but it was proved at last that he had not his father's strength. The show of prosperity and success during the first half of his reign was in the latter half to end in gloomy and hopeless confusion.

The influence of unworthy advisers became more and more predominant, and Louis proves his right to the surname of "Pious," with its weaker meaning of superstitious, credulous, and pliant.

At about this time Einhard, whose annals we have been following, seeing the approaching storm, unwilling probably to desert the emperor, and yet feeling that the future lay with Lothair, took part for the last time, in 829, in the celebration of Christmas at the court, and having obtained the imperial permission retired to Seligenstadt, and his annals cease with the ending of his political career. He died the same year as his emperor, 840. As he left the court he addressed an earnest letter to Lothair, which is worthy of record. In it he declares how difficult it is to express his zeal and earnestness for the young emperor's career, since both he and his father have been the object of his love and prayers, and he has ever tried to give him careful and earnest advice for correction of morals, and for the attainment of that which was useful and honorable, and that now, though his labor might seem less useful than it ought, his own faithfulness will not allow him to be silent. He must still give advice for his young emperor's safety and warn him of his danger. "It has come to my notice," he says, "that certain

men seeking their own advantage rather than yours, appealing to your good nature, are trying to pursuade you that, putting away the paternal counsel and your obedience and due allegiance, you should leave the country committed to your rule and protection by your most pious father, and strive for that which is against his consent and expressed order, and remain near him, although it does not please him. What more perverse or dishonorable thing than this could be conceived! See what sort of persuasion that is, and how evil! It exhorts you to despise that divine precept which bids us honor our parents, and promises long life as the reward of keeping the commandment. They bid you lay aside your obedience and substitute rebellion for it, and call upon you to array yourself with boastful pride against him in submission to whom you ought humbly to act. They would force you to stifle your filial tenderness with contempt and disobedience. Thus charity despised, discord, which never ought to be named between you, increases more and more, until, between those with whom love ought to be, hatred springs forth. May this never come to pass, for I know how great an abomination in the sight of God is a stubborn and disobedient son, since God, by the mouth of Moses, as we may read in the Book of Deuteronomy, commands that such a son should be stoned by all the people. Wherefore, I deem it right to admonish you that, by the prudence given you by Almighty God, you may avoid your danger, for this divine sentence cannot be despised by any one, since it is one out of many which our elders

and doctors have handed down, as well for present as for ancient times, to be observed by Christians as well as by Jews. God knows I love you, and therefore I so faithfully admonish you. Do not regard the insignificance of my person, but rather consider the wholesomeness of my counsel." [1]

But as Einhard said in his letter, Lothair was obstinate and headstrong, and the rebellion went on. Already the emperor began to appear as but one of many sovereigns, with an imperial title, indeed, but with less and less of the supreme authority. Now also the central power began to be still further weakened by the rise of the great feudal aristocracy. The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, growing in wealth and in influence, formed a great feudal clergy, and appear as the great arbiters and awarders of empire and the deposers of kings.[2] In this we note one of the most important as well as characteristic features of the time, the increasing prominence of the clergy in secular affairs, a prominence which becomes especially notable during the closing years of the reign of Louis. This was due not only to the increased wealth and importance arising from their feudal position and power, but also to the increased prominence of the church and its ability to use its powerful and complete organization for the furtherance of its own ends and purposes.

The great lay counsellors of Charles the Great were succeeded by the clerical counsellors and politicians of the later empire.

[1] Jaffé, vol. iv., pp. 445, 446 ; Einhardi, Ep. 7, A.D. 830.
[2] Milman, bk. v., ch. ii.

The first open act of rebellion was the refusal of the feudal army to engage in the war in Brittany, to which, in April, 830, it was summoned, it is said, by the advice of Bernhard.[1] Instead of proceeding to Brittany, Lothair, of Italy, and Pippin, of Aquitania, with their followers, assembled at Paris, and advanced against their father with the purpose of overthrowing him, destroying their stepmother, and putting Bernhard to death. Bernhard sought safety in flight, but the emperor advanced to meet them in Compiègne, where Pippin, with the approval of Lothair, seized his father, deprived him of his royal power, and forced the empress to take the veil, sending her to the monastery of Saint Radegund, in Poitou. Her brothers, Conrad and Rudulf, they compelled to take the tonsure and enter a monastery. After the octave of Easter, Lothair arrived from Italy and held an assembly at Compiègne, in which further vengeance was visited upon the members of the imperial party, Heribert, the brother of Bernhard, being blinded. Lothair was joined by Pippin, with whom were the chief men of the empire whom Louis had discarded for his new friends. At this assembly the emperor was declared to have forfeited the royal power, and was retired to private life.[2] In the next year peace seems to have been restored. The brothers recognized, in the face of the storm of general disapprobation with which their treatment of their father was received, that they had gone too far and too fast, and accordingly, at the assembly held in February, 831, the emperor was

[1] See above, p. 399.

[2] Boehmer, pp. 311–314.

restored, the empress allowed to clear herself by an oath, and no one accusing her of any crime, she was released and given back to Louis. A general amnesty was declared, and the sons departed to their separate kingdoms—Lothair to Italy, Pippin to Aquitania, and Louis to Bavaria. It is said that on this occasion a new document of division was put forth, by which Lothair was to be left in Italy, while the rest of the empire was to be divided so that Pippin should have almost all Gaul, Louis almost all Germany, and Charles a piece between, including most of Burgundy and a large wedge of territory cutting in between the lands of his brothers along the middle Rhine and the Moselle. This scheme seems to have been nearly a copy of that planned by Charles the Great in 806, but was never carried out. It shows, however, the increasing demands of the party of Charles the Bald, and is a step in the progress by which he attained his kingdom. Soon after, the sons were once more summoned to their father's court, and Lothair received an honorable reception. Pippin, however, delayed his coming, and was, in consequence, coldly received. This made him angry, and he hastened back to Aquitania.

News came now that Louis with his Bavarian army was about to attack the territory of the young Charles, and was on his way to invade the domains of his father. The emperor at once ordered all the people of Eastern and Western Francia to assemble at Mainz, where he formed his army and crossed the Rhine to Tribur. Louis with his Bavarians,

receiving reports of the vigorous resolution and large forces of his father, lost courage and returned to Bavaria, while many of his followers deserted to the emperor. The latter continued his march, beholding the devastation which the Bavarian soldiers had wrought in Alemannia, proceeded to Augustburg, and there, in 832, met Louis, and forgave him. Louis promised with an oath not to offend in such a way again. The emperor then returned to Mainz. Calling Pippin to him later, he reprimanded him for his conduct, and ordered him to proceed to Francia, there to await his coming, but Pippin disregarded his father's commands, and returned to his kingdom of Aquitania. In the following year, 833, the brothers again broke out in rebellion, and the emperor was obliged to summon his army, which he did in June, and advanced against them, desiring, if possible, to win them over by peaceable means, but determined, if these failed, to resort to arms. The rebellious army was drawn up at Redfield, and with it were Lothair, of Italy, who brought with him Pope Gregory IV., Pippin of Aquitania, and Louis of Bavaria. Then occurred that sad event which changed the name of the place from Redfield to "Lügenfeld," the Field of Lies, for by treachery and deceit the soldiers of Louis were won over to the side of his rebellious sons, and the emperor was left alone. Once again he was sent into exile, and Lothair, seizing the royal power, allowed the pope to return to Rome, and his brothers, Pippin and Louis, to their kingdoms. But Lothair, taking his father with him, went to Soissons, and there placed

him under guard in the monastery of St. Médard, and then took the young Charles and sent him to the monastery of Prüm, much to the grief of his father. In October Lothair held the assembly at Compiègne, and there the bishops, abbots, counts, and all the people presented to him the annual gifts, according to the imperial custom, and swore fealty to him. He also received the ambassadors who had been sent to his father with their gifts from Constantinople. At this assembly many crimes were charged against the emperor, and foremost among his accusers was Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, said to have been a foster-brother and fellow-disciple of the emperor ;[1] Louis was forced to lay aside his arms and kingly garb, and was cut off from all intercourse with any except the deputies of Lothair ; but even then Lothair, fearful that he might escape, kept him with him, and finally brought him to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he spent the winter. His brother Louis, at a conference with him, urged a milder treatment, but Lothair paid no heed, and Louis began to plan for his father's rescue. The emperor being treated more and more cruelly, the two brothers, Pippin and Louis, in 834, summoned their followers to arms against Lothair, who was forced to leave his father in Paris and to save himself by flight. The bishops who were present there brought about a reconciliation with the emperor in the church of St. Denis, and once more clothed him in his royal robes and restored to him his arms. With much rejoicing Louis restored his two sons to his

[1] Frodoard, p. 193.

favor, and having expressed his gratitude to them and to all the people, he dismissed Pippin to his kingdom, and took Louis with him to Aix-la-Chapelle. Here with his counsellors and chief men he discussed the position of Lothair. Messengers were sent to all parts of the empire announcing his restoration and claiming the allegiance of all. Meanwhile Lothair had fled to Vienne, and there Louis sent promises of forgiveness, calling upon Lothair to return. Lothair, however, refused, and it having been learned that a plot was on foot to murder the empress, she was taken from the monastery and brought unharmed to the emperor. Together with Louis, joined also by his other son, Pippin, he advanced against Lothair, and finally induced him to submit, offering to him the kingdom of Italy and agreeing to preserve the life and property of his followers.

Thus the first stage of the rebellion was ended, but Ebbo, the archbishop of Rheims, who had been the prime mover in the revolt, made a public confession in the church, declaring that the emperor had been unjustly deposed, and that the charges made against him were false and unfounded. All repaired to the palace, where Ebbo in full synod confessed himself guilty of a capital crime, proclaimed himself unworthy of his episcopal office, and confirmed this in writing. By a unanimous decision he was then deposed. Further attempts were made to reconcile Lothair in 836, and he was induced to send as ambassadors the abbot Wala and Eberhard, the son of Count Berengar, to treat for a settlement

of their mutual relations, Lothair promising to attend the assembly at Worms in September, from which, however, he was kept by sickness.

In October of the following year the emperor made another attempt to enlarge and extend the territory of Charles. A new district was assigned to him, consisting of the greater part of the old Belgium territory, including Friesland, the land between the Maas and the Seine, and back as far as Burgundy, including in the eastern part some of the territory between the Seine and Loire. Accordingly in his presence the bishops, abbots, counts, and royal vassals who held fiefs within this territory commended themselves to Charles, and took the oath of fealty to him.

In the spring of 838 news came to the emperor that his sons Louis and Lothair were in conference together. Messengers were immediately despatched declaring the displeasure of the emperor and threatening them with force. Louis immediately returned and shrewdly made peace with his too credulous father. An attack by the Saracens in the South forced the emperor to summon a general assembly in the middle of August at Kiersy. Here, with the aid and support of Pippin, Charles received the knightly belt, and a part of Neustria, consisting of the duchy of Maine and all of Western Gaul, between the Loire and Seine, was conferred upon him. At the close of the year Pippin, the king of Aquitania, died, leaving two sons, Pippin and Charles. In 839 a further arrangement of the territory of the empire was made at an assembly at Worms. In

May Lothair was received by his father, and fear being expressed on account of the approaching old age and weakness of the emperor, he was urged to make a final provision for the future. The empress, remembering the promise made by Lothair at the baptism of her son, proposed to Lothair the division of the whole kingdom, with the exception of Bavaria, between himself and Charles. Lothair agreed to this, and it was confirmed by an oath.

A reconciliation was effected with the emperor, and Lothair fell at his feet and asked to be restored to his earlier place. The emperor was induced to agree to this arrangement made between Charles and Lothair, and the empire was divided into two parts, and Lothair given the choice. One half included Italy, part of Burgundy, and the country east and north of the Rhone, and from there along the Maas to the sea, including Ripuaria, Worms, Speier, Alsatia, Alemannia, Thuringia, Saxony, and Friesland ; the other half included Burgundy, the country west of the Rhone, along the Maas to the sea, land between the Maas and the Seine and between the Seine and the Loire, with the Mark of Brittany, Aquitania, Wasconia, Septemania, and Provence. Lothair chose the former, east of the Maas, and promised to hand over the other half to Charles. The brothers were to come into complete possession, however, only after their father's death. In July Lothair returned to Italy with rich gifts, his father binding him with the strongest oaths. To Louis the emperor sent messengers confirming his possession of the territory of Bavaria, and command-

ing him not to pass beyond its boundaries without his consent, and requiring from him an oath to that effect. The refusal of Louis to comply with these conditions forced the emperor to take arms against his son, and in 840, after having celebrated Easter at Aix-la-Chapelle, he crossed the Rhine and forced Louis into flight. Returning from this campaign, he was taken ill at Mainz, and died on June 20th.

The death of the emperor was the signal for a great struggle between the brothers. Lothair, having learned of the death of his father, hastened from Italy into Gaul, and boasting of the name of "emperor," armed himself against both of his brothers, Louis and Charles, and sought battle with both, but not successfully. Louis and Charles, one on one side, and one on the other side of the Rhine, partly by force, partly by threats, partly by promises of honor and by other conditions, reconciled and united their followers, and Lothair, having attacked Louis at Mainz, crossed the Rhine, and forced him to retire to Bavaria. He then turned his arms against Charles, but without success, Louis rendering aid to his brother.

The young nephew, Pippin, claiming the inheritance of his father in Aquitania, found his claims slighted and his possessions seized by his uncle Charles. He accordingly joined his forces with those of Lothair, who was preparing to meet the allied brothers in a final struggle. It was said that Charles and Louis were anxious to avoid a battle, but Lothair insisted, claiming the empire. The battle was fought at Fontenay, near Auxerre, in

Lower Burgundy, on June 25th, 843, and ended in a complete victory for the German forces, under Charles and Louis, against the Romanic army of Lothair. In view of their success the two brothers met at Strassburg, and entered into a mutual agreement, binding themselves, each to the other, to resist the demands of Lothair. "Here, for the first time," says Emerton, "we have a distinct recognition of difference of race and language as a basis of political action among the Franks. The kings first addressed the 'people'—that is, the army, each in his own language.

"Then Louis, being the elder, took oath in the *lingua romana*, as follows:

"'Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvaraeio cist meon fradre Karlo et in adiudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet; et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.'

"After this Charles repeated the same oath in the *lingua teudisca:*

"'In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gealtnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizci indi madh furgibit, so haldih tesan minan bruodher, soso, man mit rehtu sinan bruodher scal, in thiu, thaz er mig sosoma duo; indi mit Ludherem in nohheiniu thing ne gegango, the minan willon imo ce scadhen werhen.'

" The translation of the oath is as follows :

" ' For the love of God, and for the sake as well of our peoples as of ourselves, I promise that from this day forth, as God shall grant me wisdom and strength, I will treat this, my brother, as one's brother ought to be treated, provided that he shall do the same by me. And with Lothair I will not willingly enter into any dealings which may injure this, my brother.'

" Then the followers of the kings took oath, each in his own language, that if their own king should violate his agreement, they would refuse to aid him against the brother who should have kept his word.

" These oaths, valuable to us as a proof of just how things stood between the rival kings in the year 842, have an especial value as the earliest specimens of the old-romance and the old-germanic languages. We see here the former just emerging from the ancient Latin, and reminding us already of the later French, Spanish, and Italian. We see the latter, without any admixture of the Latin, already so like the modern German, English, and Dutch that one can read it without much difficulty." [1]

In the next year, 843, Lothair, convinced of the futility of any further attempts, met with his brothers at Verdun, and negotiations were begun, resulting in the treaty of Verdun, which is rightly regarded as marking the end of the Carolingian Empire, and the beginning of the nations of modern Europe. Although in 885 the Carolingian ruler of the East, Charles the Fat, who had been crowned

[1] Emerton, pp. 26–28.

emperor by the pope in 881, was acknowledged by the nobles of the West to be their king as well, and so once more the empire was united under one rule. The unity could not last long. A treaty made with the Northmen in 886, which opened to the invading barbarians a way to the rich lands of Upper Burgundy, alienated and offended the subjects. In 887 the empire once more broke up, and six different kingdoms appeared—Germany, Italy, Burgundy, Provence, and, in the West, Neustria and Aquitania. The latter united into one under Hugh Capet in 987.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES — EBBO AND THE DANES—ANSGAR AND THE SWEDES —OLAF AND THE NORWEGIANS—METHODIUS AND THE MORAVIANS—SECULARIZATION OF THE BISHOPS — POLITICAL INFLUENCE AND DEPENDENCE — FEUDAL RELATIONS—REFORM MOVEMENTS.

N spite of all this confusion and disturbance, Christianity was reaching out for new victories. When the embassy came to Louis, asking him to help the royal party of the Danes in their endeavor to maintain their king, Harold, on his throne, Louis took occasion to send back with them a missionary to introduce Christianity. Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, undertook this work at the emperor's request in 822. With him was associated Halitgar, the bishop of Combray. So successful were they, that, in 826, when Harold appeared again at the court of Louis, he and his wife were both baptized, Louis standing as godfather to Harold and Judith as godmother to the queen. The presents and entertainment which the new converts received went

far towards making the example of the king a popular one to follow. When he returned Ansgar, a young monk of Corbie, brought up under Paschasius Radbertus, and under Wala, the abbot of New Corbie, accompanied him and continued the work of converting the Danes. But the people, suspicious of the Franks and of their religion, again drove out Harold, and Ansgar was obliged to retire. A way was opened to him for a larger work. Christian captives had brought their religion to the attention of the people in Sweden, and when Swedish envoys appeared at the court of the emperor they asked for teachers of Christianity. The Danish mission being put in charge of the monk Gieslemar, Ansgar was selected by Louis for this new work. Accompanied by Witmar, a monk of Corbie, he embarked for Sweden in 829; returning two years afterwards, Louis decided that the time had come for carrying out the plans of Charles; accordingly he established a metropolitanate at Hamburg as a centre for the Northern missions, and Ansgar was sent to Rome to receive the papal confirmation and the pall. Gregory IV. confirmed his work, raised him to the archiepiscopal dignity, and conferred upon him, together with Archbishop Ebbo, charge of the missions in the North.

In attempting to renew his work among the Danes, he purchased captives, that he might train a native clergy for a people too proud to receive their religion from foreigners. The death of Louis and the division of the empire deprived him of a friendly protector, and the conquest and pillage of Hamburg

by the Normans, in 845, seemed almost like utter ruin. At the same time his mission in Sweden was destroyed, and Gauzbert, whom he had consecrated as its bishop, was driven out.

His faith and perseverance would not allow him to despair; indeed, at this very time his affairs changed for the better. The bishopric of Bremen becoming vacant, King Louis of Germany offered it to him. At first he refused it, as, being under the archbishopric of Cologne, confusion and trouble might arise if he tried to associate it with Hamburg. After long negotiations, however, it was finally arranged in 849, when Ansgar received it and united it with the See of Hamburg, the change being approved by the pope. From this time, as safer and less exposed to attack and invasion, it became the seat of the archbishop. Success now was assured. He was able to win over Horik, or Eric, the savage king of Jutland, and not only in ecclesiastical, but in political affairs, became his chief confidant and adviser in his relations with the empire. Horik permitted Ansgar to introduce Christianity among his people, to lay the foundations of a church in Schleswig, and to establish Christianity there. In 851 Ansgar revived his mission among the Swedes, sending to them the hermit Ardgar, who remained there but a short time, however, and in 853 Ansgar, accompanied by a priest named Erimbert, went back to them.

Olaf, the king, supported by the nobles and people, after appealing to the heathen lots, received him favorably, and having settled Erimbert there he re-

turned to his own diocese in 854. Ansgar was able to accomplish more, because he and his missionaries asked nothing from the people, supporting themselves by their own labor or by voluntary gifts ; indeed, they made presents to the kings and nobles, thus gaining protection and support. Not the least of Ansgar's powers lay in his own earnest and resolute, but humble and Christlike setting forth of the Gospel in his own life. Rightly has he been called the " Apostle of the North." When it was said of him, as of others at that time, that his prayers wrought miracles in healing the sick, he replied : " Could I deem myself worthy of such a favor from the Lord, I would pray him to vouchsafe me but one miracle, that out of me, by his grace, he would make a good man." [1]

Having labored for nearly thirty-five years among these people of the North, he was seized by a severe illness, from which he suffered for four months, until at last he entered into rest, February 3d, 865, at the age of sixty-four years. Erimbert was his faithful disciple and successor in the See of Hamburg-Bremen, but the continued invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries delayed for long the progress of the work. It was not until the eleventh century, under Cnut, in Denmark, under Olaf Skötkonung, in Sweden, and under Olaf, the Holy, in Norway, that Christianity was finally established in these countries of the far North.

Eastward Christianity spread by the efforts of Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, under Charles the

[1] Neander, vol. iii., p. 287.

Great, and of Urolf, archbishop of Lorch, under Louis the Pious. Their work was taken up and extended among the Moravians by two Greek monks, Cyril and Methodius, and in 867 the latter was consecrated by Pope Hadrian II. as metropolitan of Pannonia and Moravia, promising obedience to Rome.[1]

But not all the bishops were thus engaged or even interested. The discipline of Charles the Great, though reinforced by Louis in the Benedictine reforms and by the establishment of the canonical life, was relaxed. Secular affairs engrossed the higher ecclesiastics, and ignorance began to characterize the lower clergy. The election of bishops, in spite of laws and attempted reforms, came more and more under the control of the emperor and kings. Men like Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, might stand firm and resist, but he was an exception in many ways. Indeed, Ampère speaks of him as "the greatest political personage of the ninth century."[2] It soon became a common thing for the kings to appoint men from among the clergy of their own court to the more important bishoprics. The bishops themselves recognized that it was to their interest to bring their churches into dependence upon their rulers. This tendency was carried even further, and firmly crystallized in feudalism, where the large ecclesiastical estates and properties, together with the powers political as well as ecclesiastical exercised by the bishops and abbots, forced

[1] Neander, vol. iii., p. 317, note 1.
[2] Ampère, vol. iii., p. 92.

them to become an integral part of the feudal order. In connection with the ceremonial attending the act of homage to the lord, and the conferring of the rights and privileges upon the vassal, various symbols were used to indicate the different official relations of the vassals. A similar custom came into use in connection with the consecration of bishops and abbots. Already in the fifth century the pope had introduced the custom of conferring the pall upon distinguished prelates as a mark of the favor and authorization of the Roman See and of their allegiance to it. With the development and extension of the feudal relation, bishops and abbots, at their consecration, were invested with the sceptre, the crozier, and the ring as symbols of their official authority and position. The objectionable feature lay in the fact that these symbols, representing spiritual no less than temporal authority, were conferred by the secular power, not only seeming to imply that the civil ruler was the source of their authority, but also emphasizing and even increasing their dependence upon him. Thus a strong secularizing tendency began to exert an almost irresistible influence. Few prelates distinguished between their spiritual and their temporal interests and functions, and with very many of them political and secular affairs were the most absorbing. In the struggles of the ninth century the great church prelates take the place of the secular nobles in political influence and counsel. Ebbo, and later Hincmar, of Rheims, Agobard, of Lyons, Theodulf, of Orleans, are only a few of the more prominent

among the influential ecclesiastical politicians of the century. The influence of these powerful ecclesiastics, so often on different sides of the strife, served also to increase the power of the pope, whom each party was eager to secure at any time as an ally. The feudal relations and political dependence of the bishops and abbots, as shown in the right of investiture, led to still greater evils by allowing the capricious bestowal of these positions as benefices on court favorites, or by making them objects of traffic and sale. Under such circumstances the spiritually minded prelates were not very numerous, nor were the conditions such as to develop them.

Among the burdens from which the churches were not exempt was the obligation of the bishops and abbots for military service or its equivalent. As we have seen, the clergy not only were exempt from personal military service, but were forbidden to engage in war or to carry arms. However, the secular position and duties of the bishops and abbots, the civil wars, and especially the barbarian invasions, made the keeping of such laws increasingly difficult, and even the holiest men were forced to engage in preparations for the armed defence of their churches and monasteries, and sometimes even to lead their soldiers. Yet it was only in case of severe and sudden attack that such extreme activity was required, though the warlike spirit and deeds of many drew forth severe condemnation from reformers like Peter Damiani. Strong efforts were made by the church to establish order and quiet, and the peace institutions—the "Peace," *pactum pacis*, in the tenth cen-

tury, and the "Truce of God," *truga Dei*, in the eleventh, were due to the influence and active co-operation of the clergy.

Secular obligations and interests brought with them also internal evils and corruptions. Simony and lay control, ambition after power, greed of rich revenue, and pride of birth, all tended to lower the standard and to weaken the power of the bishops and higher clergy. Morality declined, and manners suffered in consequence. Marriage was common among the clergy, and ecclesiastical property was divided among their families. There was danger of building up a regular clerical caste. Vice of every kind increased. The archbishop of Cambray, in order to draw his clergy from their infatuation for dice, or to turn it in a better direction, invented for his diocese an ingenious game of dice with stones named after the Christian virtues.[1]

As with the bearing of arms and the marriage of priests, so in other respects the church laws of the earlier times were disregarded and violated. Men were ordained absolutely—that is, without any fixed parish, and so without any responsibility or control, and private chapels and the right of patronage still further weakened authority and discipline.

There were movements for reform, like those of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Atto, bishop of Vercelli, and Peter Damiani, bishop of Ostia, but the age succeeding Charles the Great waited for a Henry III. and a Hildebrand.

[1] Neander, vol. iii., p. 410, note 3.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE NINTH CENTURY—THE FORGED DECRETALS—ORIGIN—DATE—PLACE—OBJECT—CONTENTS—USE—LATER HISTORY.

HE constitution of the church had been slowly forming itself in harmony with the events which we have thus far been describing. Most of the legislation had been the work of the local synods, under the leadership and guidance of the archbishops and metropolitans, but as the new powers of the West arose to take the place of the old Roman Empire, and especially, as the kings and chiefs of these new peoples gave their assent to Christianity, and were most active in its spread, securing its acceptance among their people, and supporting its claims by their authority, the connection between church and state became ever closer and more intimate, and their interests approached a greater harmony and unity of purpose.

The filling of bishoprics and the higher offices with native ecclesiastics, the increase of church lands

and property, and the formation of great ecclesiastical estates, whereby these officers were brought into and made a part of the rapidly forming feudal system, still further tended to this same end. The organization itself was changing. The personal authority of the bishop of the chief city over the presbyters of the district was taking the place of the local council, while the bishops were brought under the control of provincial synods, and of the metropolitan or archbishop, the bishop of the metropolis or chief city of the province. These metropolitans received also a civil authority, which strengthened, although it tended to secularize their position.[1]

Moreover, the synods ceased to be held, or began to lose their separate and independent power, while the political assemblies, in which the chief bishops and abbots sat as a part of the territorial nobility, regulated ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs. The history of the church in England previous to the Norman Conquest furnishes a clear and forcible illustration of this development. It is seen also in the history of the Frankish Kingdom. The conversion of Clovis, who thereafter waged his wars of conquest and extension, having among his avowed objects the suppression of Arianism and the conversion of the heathen to Christianity, the authorization by the church of the change from the Merovingian to the Carolingian line, and the coronation of Pippin by the pope, were only more marked events along this same line. Boniface himself had said, "Without the patronage of the Frankish ruler, I

[1] Hatch, pp. 32–39, 126–129.

can neither govern the people nor defend the presbyters, monks, or handmaidens of God; nor even could I forbid the pagan rites and sacrilegious idolatries without his mandate and the fear of his name."

This union gave to the church a discipline which, at times, was sadly needed, while it gave to the kingdom a divine sanction and authority, as well as an instrument of power with well-organized means for its exercise. Consequently, during the reign of Charles the Great, both powers grew and flourished, and he appeared like a second Constantine, the ruler, because the strong and efficient protector of the church.

With the accession of his son and sole successor, Louis the Pious, a change began to take place. The weakness of the central power, even in secular affairs, brought about division and strife, in which the church became involved. The great power which Charles the Great had used for her support and defence was now divided, and often used against her, till she became the object of oppression, and her subjection to an alien power was only too apparent.

To free the church from this subjection, to make her independent of the temporal power, to strengthen, unify, and solidify her own organization, and to give it a strong foundation in law and precedent, was the great problem which, in the ninth century, pressed with ever-increasing urgency upon those who had the interests of the church at heart. It was to solve this problem and to meet this need that the Forged Decretals, as they are now generally called, were put forth.

Laws already existed, and collections of them were well known and widely circulated. These collections included the canons of Œcumenical Councils, and of some of the most important and well-known local synods, also the more formal and authoritative letters of distinguished bishops, especially those of the apostolic, or more important and well-known sees, and the canonical laws of the emperors, particularly Theodosius and Justinian.

By far the most important collection was that made about 500 A.D. by Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, who thus became the founder of the Western system of canon law, and is also known as the originator of our practice of numbering years from the birth of Christ, the Christian or Dionysian era.

In the seventh century another collection appeared in Spain, afterwards called the collection of Isidore, being ascribed generally, but probably erroneously, to Isidore, archbishop of Seville, who died 636 A.D.

Since then two centuries had passed, centuries of great and momentous history, in which many changes had been wrought, new influences set at work, new conditions realized, and new needs created, which the laws enacted under secular control either were powerless to meet or only aggravated.

Attempts at reform were made by the synods held under Louis the Pious and his sons, and also by new collections of laws. These laws or capitularies, as those put forth by the Frankish kings were called, were placed in a genuine collection, in 827, by Ansegis, abbot of Fontenelles, which was included

in a collection made about twenty years later by the so-called Benedict Levite, of Mainz, who added some and composed many more from both genuine and spurious ecclesiastical legislation, the whole bearing the title of the Capitularies of Benedict Levite. A further attempt was made in the capitularies, ascribed to Angilram, bishop of Metz, in the last part of the eighth century, but really belonging to a later date.

It remained for him who took the name of the renowned bishop of Seville, already identified with the famous collection of the seventh century, to put forth the most complete, most effective, and most fraudulent collection of all, and therefore called the Pseudo-Isidore. The full name which the author assumed was Isidore Mercator (changed in a few manuscripts to Peccator, which is therefore probably an erroneous form), but the latter name seems to be of unknown origin and meaning, though possibly derived from a well-known writer of the fifth century.[1]

The collection appears in three parts. The first contains the preface, two letters, one pretending to be from Aurelius of Carthage to Pope Damasus, asking the pope to send him the statutes of all the pontiffs from Peter to the beginning of his own pontificate, a request which Damasus in the other letter grants.[2] After the "order for holding a coun-

[1] Hinschius, p. ccxxxvi. ; Kurtz, vol. i., p. 512 ; Neander, vol. ii., p. 721.

[2] Damasus was bishop of Rome from 366 to 384 A.D. The genuine decretals, as the authoritative papal letters are called, be-

cil" are inserted the apocryphal so-called Apostolic Canons, introduced by a forged letter from Jerome. Then follow the decretals, fifty-nine letters from thirty popes, beginning with Clement and ending with Melchiades, bishop of Rome from 311 to 314, all, with the exception of parts of the first two, which are an earlier forgery, the work of Pseudo-Isidore. The second part contains the acts of the principal councils, including the first four general and some early Eastern ones, as well as the principal African and Spanish councils. These were inserted from the earlier Spanish collection, in order to give his own greater completeness and value, and also to impart to it a greater semblance of exactness in places where it could be easily tested. All are genuine and correctly copied with one exception ; the limitation of the authority of country bishops is made the declaration of the seventh canon of the second Spanish council, by the addition of the words " and country bishops," to the words " presbyters," adding also " all which things are known to have been prohibited by the Apostolic See." This change would not be easily detected, and served to bring the council into agreement with one of the forged letters of Leo. There are two or three other pieces, chief among them being the edict or letter of Constantine to Pope Sylvester, giving an account of his conversion, baptism, and healing by Sylvester, concluding with the famous donation, a forgery of the preceding century.

gin with Siricius, who was the successor of Damasus. Hence, the significance of this feigned request is easily seen.

The third and last part includes the decretals and other documents, one hundred and ninety in all, of the popes from Sylvester to Gregory II., of which thirty-five are forgeries. This part concludes with the capitularies of Angilram, which, Hinschius is inclined to think, were written by Pseudo-Isidore himself before the rest.[1]

The principal sources from which the collection was made up are the ecclesiastical histories of Cassiodorus and Rufinus, the "Libri Pontificum," the writings of Eunodius, the Vulgate (Psalms in Jerome's version), early church fathers, letters to and from Boniface, letters of the popes, especially Leo the Great and Gregory the Great, genuine decretals and acts of councils, Roman law collections, Frankish capitularies and decrees, the collection of Benedict Levite and of Angilram.[2] Of course it is not necessary to suppose that Pseudo-Isidore had all these books together at any one time or in one place, or that he read each of them entirely through in order to get one sentence or a brief extract; in many cases he undoubtedly used extracts already made in books which he had at hand. If, for example, he used as his principal source the collection of Benedict Levite, a conclusion which is highly probable and is now quite generally accepted, the number of separate works will be diminished by about one fifth.

It is quite unnecessary to enter upon a technical discussion of this question of sources, but one point is of considerable importance and of no little inter-

[1] Hinschius, p. clxxx.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. cx.–cxxxix.

est—that is, the consideration of the version of the Bible used by the writer in the quotations he makes from the Scriptures. Unfortunately the question is fraught with many difficulties, and scholars are by no means agreed. He probably used the Vulgate, but he does not seem to quote passages with verbal accuracy, except in the Psalms, where it is agreed that he used Jerome's translation. We thus find popes of the first four centuries quoting from a translation made long after they were dead.

In regard to the vexed, but important question as to the relations between Benedict's collection and that of Pseudo-Isidore, Hinschius declares it to be his opinion that Pseudo-Isidore used Benedict's collection as the source of his own, and supports his theory by several arguments. First, Benedict often changed the sources which he used, and the same things which Benedict interpolated into the genuine sources, Pseudo-Isidore also introduced, but the latter also changed some passages in which Benedict agreed with the sources. Secondly, chapters are found in Benedict's collection compiled from different sources already altered by Benedict. These same sentences occur in Pseudo-Isidore with the changes of Benedict, and with other changes also differing from the source still more than they do in Benedict. Consequently, Benedict is in closer agreement with the source, and so nearer to it than is Pseudo-Isidore. Thirdly, in some chapters Benedict has completely changed the sense of the source, and Pseudo-Isidore puts forth the same with other changes. Fourthly, there may be found also pas-

sages in Pseudo-Isidore which have been made up out of several in Benedict, and in which Pseudo-Isidore has used not only the text of the chapters, but their titles as well. These arguments settle the vexed question, and so help to fix the date of the False Decretals as after the capitularies of Benedict, for Benedict expressly says: "Otgar, who *was then* archbishop of Mainz, commanding me, I compiled the three books." Inasmuch as these lines occur in the preface to his work, the words "was then" show that it must have been written after Otgar ceased to be archbishop—that is, after his death, which took place April 21st, 847. The False Decretals must have been composed after that, if, as seems to have been proved, their author used the work of Benedict.

They must also have appeared before the year 853, for the first certain reference to them was made at the synod held at Soissons in that year.

To these considerations Hinschius further adds: "If, however, you take into account the time necessary to circulate the collection of Benedict, and to write up and circulate the decretals of Pseudo-Isidore, it will seem very probable that the latter completed his work about 851 or 852 A.D." [1]

France was unquestionably, and probably Rheims, the place of their origin. They were cited first by Frankish writers and in Frankish councils connected with the affairs of Rheims, their sources also are largely Frankish, while they abound in Gallicisms, using both expressions and names peculiar to the

[1] Hinschius, p. cci.

Western Kingdom ; but more than all, the contents and aims of the decretals harmonize most perfectly with the history and conditions of the Church of France, even in some of its minutest details.[1] The changed conditions in the Frankish Church at the accession of Louis the Pious have been mentioned already earlier in this chapter. Greater evils followed, as we have seen in the preceding chapter.[2] The attempts at a division of the kingdom among his sons, the rebellion against their father, and the civil strife among themselves before and after his death, filled the land with woes and miseries of every kind, for besides the bloodshed and devastation always wrought by war, there arose widespread depravity and sacrilege, the contempt of all law and religion. The desecration and spoliation of churches and of ecclesiastical property, the oppression of the clergy and their subjection to and dependence upon the civil power were the inevitable results. All ecclesiastical discipline was failing. The clergy ceased to obey the bishops and abbots who could not or would not help them. In too many cases the abbots and bishops themselves had taken part in the civil strifes with all the fierce partisanship of the lay nobles, and the laity too often saw in their bishops and clergy political opponents rather than spiritual guides. They even bore arms and fought for the cause they had espoused. Thus in a battle, in 844, between Charles the Bald and Pippin II., two abbots were taken prisoners and two bishops were

[1] Wasserschleben, p. 375 ; Clarke, p. 369.
[2] See above, ch. xxxi.

found dead on the field. Sometimes they took up arms to defend their churches and to keep their property from becoming the spoil of some lay lord. The continual civil strife left the country exposed to the ravages of the Northmen, which began about this time, and which the divided and weakened kingdom was powerless to oppose. The armies that marched against them were hardly less devastating, and here again abbots and bishops had to arm themselves in defence. Western Francia was forced to endure the worst of it, for there the great rebellions took place, the severest battles were fought, and the most frequent devastations were suffered from the Northmen. Life, property, everything was insecure.

Ecclesiastical discipline became almost an impossibility. The ecclesiastical power lost its sacred character, and having no strong arm to protect it, and unable to defend itself, fell more and more under the rule and sway of the secular power.

The acts of the synods held at this time at Paris in 829, at Aix-la-Chapelle in 836, at Meaux in 845, and at Paris in 846, show at once the nature of these evils and their failure to remedy them.[1] The only hope of averting such disaster was to be found in reforming the church, and in elevating the dignity and importance of the ecclesiastical order. The nobles had opposed the attempts already made, the acts of the synods could not be enforced, and some other scheme must be devised to accomplish the desired result, and at the same time to establish

[1] Hinschius, pp. ccxv.–ccxxi. ; Clarke, pp. 358–360.

an authority which would compel respect and universal acceptance.

This goes far to explain the general system of the Forged Decretals, as well as the reason and method of their success. By the development and increasing influence of feudalism, the church not only had been brought into closer relations with the secular power, and into what we have seen was practically a feudal subjection to the state, but also had been very much weakened and divided in its own internal organization, or, to express it more accurately, its lack of a strong, united, and even centralized organization had been made increasingly apparent, and the need of something of the sort directly in line and connected with its previous development was increasingly felt.

The three great objects to be sought, therefore, were freedom from the secular power, establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy with a firm discipline, and centralization of organization, upon which all could depend.

This threefold object, so perfectly adapted to the needs of the time, is the aim and purpose of the Forged Decretals, as appears from a careful study of their contents. It is therefore evident that their author wished to put forth not only a collection of the ecclesiastical sources which should contain the ecclesiastical discipline as it was set forth in particular councils and in genuine decretals, but also such decrees as he deemed necessary for restoring the ecclesiastical *régime*, which had been corrupted and almost destroyed by the civil war waged by Louis

the Pious and his sons ; therefore, in the false part of his collection he wished to accomplish that which the synods could not do. Consequently, by the greatest authority known to the church—namely, that of the Roman bishops, and especially of those who lived in the early ages of the church—he corroborated that which every article of the decrees of the Synod of Paris and of the Constitution of Worms, and the declaration appended to the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle asserted, which Benedict had put forth as drawn from the capitularies. He beheld the wounds inflicted upon the Gallican Church in the turbulent times of Louis the Pious and of his sons, he saw that Louis the Pious had hastened with great zeal to aid the ruined church, and that the bishops assembled at the Council of Meaux had set forth many canons for reforming ecclesiastical discipline, and he knew that the earnestness and labor of the emperor, and of the bishops especially, had been rendered fruitless by the nobles. Having all these things in view, therefore, he forged the decrees by which he sought to provide that those things which up to that time had troubled the church might be done away with forever ; hoping, perchance, that if he showed forth to the men of his own age, as in a mirror, the decrees which exhibited the laws observed in the earliest Christian churches, they might at length be aroused by such a method to reform the ecclesiastical condition.[1]

As Alzog, the Roman Catholic historian most accessible to Protestant readers, rightly points out,

[1] Hinschius, p. ccxvii.

"The majority of critics have confined their attention almost entirely to *questions of ecclesiastical law*, such as the primacy, the relations of bishops to the secular power, to metropolitans, to provincial councils, and to others of a kindred nature, as if the *three parts* into which this collection is divided in the most ancient manuscript copies contained only such, whereas their subject-matter includes *dogmatic and moral theology*, *liturgy*, *penitential discipline*, teachings on the prerogatives and dignity of the Roman Church, on the right of appeal to Rome, on the various degrees of the hierarchy, and the like." [1]

In a similar way Schaff calls attention to the variety of contents. "All these documents make up a manual of orthodox doctrine and clerical discipline. They give dogmatic decisions against heresies, especially Arianism (which lingered long in Spain), and directions on worship, the sacraments, feasts and fasts, sacred rites and costumes, the consecration of churches, church property, and especially on church polity. The work breathes throughout the spirit of churchly and priestly piety and reverence." [2]

The author lays down most firmly as fundamental the distinction between clergy and laity, amounting to an absolute separation. Expressions in the New Testament applying to the relations between Christians and non-Christians he applies to the relations between clergy and laity.

To the members of the priesthood are applied the phrases which usually have been referred to all Christian believers. The priests, the clergy, are

[1] Alzog, vol. ii., pp. 270, 271. [2] Schaff, vol. iv., p. 269.

the spiritual, the members of God's household. They are the leaders of the blind, the salt of the earth, the light of the world. He who resists them resists God. They cannot be judged of men, for God alone is their judge. The greater cannot be judged by the less. They are the masters, and the servant is not above his master. On the other hand, the laity are the carnal, they are the blind, the members of this world, and are subject to the clergy, for the life of all priests is higher and holier than that of seculars and laymen, and is separate from them. Even to the emperor or to any guardian of religion it is not lawful to undertake anything against the divine commands, nor to do anything which is forbidden by evangelical, prophetical, and apostolic rules; for an unjust trial and an unjust decision, rendered by judges influenced by the fear or order of the king, is invalid, nor will anything stand which has been done contrary to the constitution of the evangelical or prophetical or apostolic doctrine of the fathers who are their successors. All princes of the earth, and all men are to obey them (*i.e.*, the bishops), and to submit their lives to them and to be their helpers, that they all may appear equally faithful and co-workers of the law of God, lest it be said of them, "All they who are incensed against thee shall be ashamed and confounded: they shall be as nothing, and they that strive with thee shall perish" (Isa. xli. 11, 12).[1]

The next point is the establishment of the hier-

[1] See especially, Ep. i., Clementis, §§ 32–36, 42; Hinschius, pp. 40, 41, 44, 45.

archy and the relation of the different orders of the clergy. "The order of priests is twofold, presbyters and bishops, in accordance with the will of the Lord, who appointed the twelve apostles, and then ordered the seventy disciples to be chosen to aid them. The bishops hold the place of the apostles, and the presbyters the place of the seventy disciples. The bishops are the keys of the church. All the presbyters ought to obey in all things without delay. Wherefore all the faithful, and especially all the presbyters and deacons and the rest of the clergy, must give heed to them, that they do nothing without the permission of their own bishop; for those who obey their bishops seem, indeed, to confer a favor on God." [1]

"The bishop ought to be ordained not by one, but by many bishops, and to be placed in an honorable city, not in a small one, lest the name of bishop be lowered in dignity. But the rank of apostles is one, though those are primates who hold the chief cities, who in certain places are called patriarchs by some. Those, moreover, who have been established by us in a metropolis, by order of the blessed Peter, and of our predecessor, Clement, cannot all be primates or patriarchs, . . . but the other metropolitan cities have archbishops or metropolitans. But this sacred Roman Apostolic Church has obtained the primacy not from the apostles, but from our Lord and Saviour himself, as he said to the blessed Apostle Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon

[1] Ep. iii., Anacleti, § 38; Ep. i., Clementis, §§ 36, 37; Ep. iii., Clementis, § 70; Hinschius, pp. 85, 41, 57.

this rock I will build my church ; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it ' (St. Matt. xvi. 18). Therefore the first See by the favor of heaven is the Roman Church. The second See, at Alexandria, was consecrated in the name of the blessed Peter by Mark, his disciple. The third See is at Antioch, where the blessed Peter lived before he came to Rome, and he appointed Ignatius as bishop there. . . . Then the blessed apostles settled it among themselves that the bishops of each nation might know who among them was chief,[1] so that their greater care might be given to him ; for even among the blessed apostles there was a certain distinction, and though all were apostles, yet it was granted to Peter by our Lord, and they wished the very same thing among themselves, that he should have the rule over all the rest of the apostles, and be Cephas—that is, the head—and should hold the headship (*principium*) of the apostleship, who also handed down the same system to their successors and the rest of the bishops. And this is declared not only in the New Testament, but also in the Old. As it is written, ' Moses and Aaron among his priests' (Ps. xcix. 6)—that is, they were chief among them." [2]

From all these quotations, which have been given thus fully in order that a fair and complete idea may be gained regarding the general contents of the Forged Decretals, it will be readily seen that the author's main object was to free the clergy from

[1] See St. Matt. xx. 25, 26 ; xxiii. 8–12 ; St. Mark ix. 33–35.
[2] Ep. ii. and iii., Anacleti, §§ 26–33 ; Hinschius, pp. 79–84.

the secular power, and to establish the hierarchy, maintaining the coequal authority of all bishops, though they might differ in importance, placing the Roman See at the head, possessing all power and authority derived, not, as the others, from the apostles, but from Christ himself, through St. Peter, whom he had appointed and whom the other apostles acknowledged as their chief.

The authority of the bishops had diminished greatly, and the metropolitans and primates threatened to rival the power of Rome herself. Many bishops had been accused and deprived of their sees by the secular authority. Special attention, therefore, was given to the manner of bringing charges against the bishops and of proceeding to trial. These accusations and trials were made as difficult as possible; impossible, indeed, for the secular power, and every opportunity was given for an appeal to Rome. The judges were to be very carefully chosen, and many requirements were demanded in each case. The chief obstacle lay really in the feudal relation of the bishops to the emperor, by whom they were promoted to the episcopal rank, and from whom they received their temporalities. A complete reformation of the ecclesiastical condition would have demanded, therefore, the surrender of other rights of the emperor besides that of judgment, especially the right of conferring bishoprics. This, however, was not attempted till the Hildebrandine era, for in the period of which we are writing no other relation than the feudal was thought of or conceived, and it was only in the

matter of accusations and of depositions of bishops that the integrity of the church seemed in danger, and that ruin threatened. It was to this point, therefore, that much of the attention of both Benedict and Pseudo-Isidore was directed. Indeed, a case in point had recently occurred which was of great importance, and which undoubtedly served to give force and definiteness to their statements. This was the famous case of Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims.

Ebbo was a special favorite with Louis, had been brought up with him at the palace, and had received from him many grants and immunities for his church.[1] In 822 he had distinguished himself as a very successful missionary to the Danes,[2] but he took more interest in the secular affairs of the court, and had been won over to the cause of Lothair. In 833 he was among the bishops openly arrayed against Louis, and was foremost in bringing about the emperor's deposition, and in imposing the ecclesiastical penalty upon him. Consequently, when Louis was re-established on his throne in the following year Ebbo was seized and imprisoned in a monastery, and ordered to await there the action of a synod. One was accordingly held at Thionville, in 835, and having received from Ebbo a written confession of his crime, deposed him. The whole procedure is clearly set forth in various parts of the decretals,[3] so exactly, indeed, that the passages

[1] Frodoard, pp. 193–213.

[2] See above, pp. 415, 416; also 407, 408.

[3] Ep. i., Alexandri. §§ 3, 4, 7; Felicis I., §§ 2, 3, 4, 5; "Decreta Julii," §§ 12, 13; Hinschius, pp. 95, 97, 98, 199, 467, 471.

must have been written from an intimate knowledge of Ebbo's affairs, for if they had been in existence at the time he would have used them in his defence.

Upon Lothair's accession to the throne in 840 Ebbo was restored to his archbishopric by an imperial decree signed by twenty bishops, a smaller number than had signed his deposition. The canons declared that a bishop deposed by one synod could be restored only by a larger one. It was, therefore, declared by the Forged Decretals that Athanasius was restored by the counsel and decree of a smaller number of bishops than deposed him. In reality, Athanasius was restored by the imperial decree alone, but this did not correspond closely enough with Ebbo's case.[1]

When Charles the Bald gained the throne of the West, Ebbo again lost his see and fled to Lothair in Italy. Then in the year 844 he received the bishopric of Hildesheim from Louis the German ;[2] but as he had never given up his claim to Rheims, he came into new opposition to the canons, which allowed a change of sees only when absolutely required for the good of the church, and then only by a decree in synod. Here, again, Pseudo-Isidore declares it "permissible for a bishop to change his see when forced by necessity or urged by special advantage, but especially it is always permitted when a bishop has been driven from his see, and, moreover, the decree of a synod is not at all necessary."[3] Thus

[1] "Decreta Julii," § 13; Hinschius, p. 471, cf. p. ccxii.
[2] Where he died, in 851.
[3] Ep. Anteri, § 2; Ep. ii., Pelagii II., § 2; Hinschius, pp. 152, 727.

all things done against Ebbo were declared by Pseudo-Isidore to be unlawful, but whatever he did contrary to ecclesiastical laws was declared to be lawful.

Much of the work of the Forged Decretals centred, therefore, about the bishops, who were defended not only against the secular power, but also against their own metropolitans, by making a bishop's trial more difficult, as we have seen, and by establishing the right of appeal to the primate, or to Rome, at any time, as all greater, that is, episcopal, cases, were declared to be under the direct supervision of the Roman See. Accusations are made difficult, if not impossible ;[1] neither laity nor lower clergy can bring accusations,[2] and even for the higher clergy the test is very vague and indefinite.[3] If the accused suspects his judges (that is, if he fears conviction) he can appeal to the primate or to the pope.[4] He may chose his twelve judges.[5] The witnesses against him must have the same qualifications as are required in accusers,[6] and must be seventy-two in number.[7] Appeal to Rome may be made during the trial[8] or afterwards, for no

[1] Ep. ii., Fabiani, § 13 ; Ep. ii., Stephani I., § 10 ; Hinschius, pp. 162, 185.
[2] Ep. iii., Julii, § 12 ; Ep. ii., Stephani I., § 12 ; Hinschius, pp. 467, 186.
[3] Ep. ii , Evarasti, § 10 ; Hinschius, p. 92.
[4] Ep. iii., Fabiani, § 29 ; Ep. ii., Cornelii, § 5 ; Ep. i., Felicis, § 3 ; Ep. ii., Felicis, § 14 ; Hinschius, pp. 168, 174, 198, 203.
[5] Ep. i., Zeppherini, § 5 ; Hinschius, p. 132.
[6] Ep. ii., Calixti, § 17 ; Hinschius, pp. 140, 141.
[7] Ep. i., Zeppherini, § 2 ; Hinschius, p. 131.
[8] Ep. ii., Eutychiani, § 7 ; Hinschius, p. 211.

final sentence can be rendered without the will and knowledge of the Apostolic See.[1]

The bishops were to be protected also from those who were specially rivalling and undermining their power, bringing weakness and confusion into the ecclesiastical organization. These were the country bishops, who had been appointed at first for large outlying districts which had no prominent city or town. In many cases they became a sort of irresponsible body, sometimes being used as assistants by regular city bishops, whose dioceses they undertook to rule, usually with great disadvantage and loss, while the regular bishop was away at court or elsewhere. Often they were placed in charge, by the secular power, during a vacancy in a diocese, that its regular income might be seized and misappropriated. The results had been confusion, neglect, and the seizure of church lands and property by both clergy and laity. This was especially marked in the province of Rheims, which had been in the care of country bishops from the deposition of Ebbo, in 835, to the election of Hincmar, in 845, with the exception of one short interval.[2] Under one of these substitutes Charles the Bald had seized and distributed among his vassals a great part of the possessions of the church, which Hincmar recovered only in part and with the greatest difficulty.[3] Another, in charge for a time, was the one who had ordained Gottschalk, whose doctrines concerning predestination had shaken the whole Gallican Church.

[1] Wasserschleben, p. 371. [2] Frodoard, p. 214.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 220–225.

Earlier councils of the century already had attempted to diminish their rights and privileges, and finally it was established that they should have only priestly authority.[1] Synods in Rheims had tried to abolish their powers, and Hincmar was strongly opposed to them.[2] The Forged Decretals absolutely forbade their ordaining, and denied to them any other rights than those of presbyters.[3]

The bishops were still further protected, and the hierarchy developed and strengthened by the establishment of primates or patriarchs above the metropolitans, and in closer relations with Rome. The metropolitans, whose waning power Pippin and Charles the Great had endeavored to restore, had become more closely connected with the national unity, and thus more dependent upon and in the control of the secular power of the princes. This union of the metropolitans with the civil power brought about the subjection of the lower clergy, especially the suffragan bishops, whose only refuge was in the popes.[4] But it would be impossible for the bishops to run away to the pope on every occasion of difficulty. The position of primate is therefore interposed between that of the metropolitan and that of the pope. Unlike Benedict, Pseudo-Isidore uses indiscriminately the names primate and patriarch. To primates, or patriarchs, belong the

[1] Gieseler, vol. ii., p. 52.
[2] Frodoard, p. 240.
[3] Ep. xix., Damasi; Ep. xcvii., Leonis; Hinschius, pp. 509–516, 628, 629.
[4] Hatch, pp. 121–135; Chastel, vol. iii., pp. 173, 174; Kurtz, vol. i., p. 497; Gieseler, vol. ii., pp. 111, 112.

provinces as already divided before the coming of Christ. No archbishops or metropolitans are called primates except those who hold the principal cities, whose bishops and their successors have been regularly appointed to be patriarchs or primates, unless some people is later converted to the faith, for whom it is necessary that a primate should be appointed on account of the multitude of bishops.[1] When necessity arises the bishops may appeal to the primate, saving the authority of the Apostolic See, the final sentence being reserved to Rome.[2] To the primate the metropolitans are to be obedient, although reverence and respect are to be paid to the metropolitans by the bishops.[3]

As to the other matters introduced and subjects discussed—morals, ritual, and belief—they may be regarded either as falling in with the general purpose of reformation and discipline, or as tending to make the work more natural, and to give it greater value and more general acceptance. They are neither of so much importance nor of such interest. As an example of the false moral teaching coming into vogue, he declares that seizing church property is sacrilege, and that sacrilege is a greater sin than an offence

[1] Ep. i., Clementis, §§ 28, 29; Ep. ii., iii., Anacleti, §§ 26, 29; Ep. Aniciti, § 3; Decreta Julii, § 12; Hinschius, pp. 39, 79, 82, 83, 121, 469.

[2] Ep. Victoris, § 6; Ep. ii., Stephani I., §§ 9, 10; Ep. Sixti II., §§ 2, 3; Decreta Felicis II., §§ 4–12; Decreta Damasi, §§ 8, 9; Hinschius, pp. 128, 129, 185, 190, 479–488, 502, 503. But compare Ep. i., Pelgii II.; Ep. i., Anacleti, § 15; Hinschius, pp. 724, 73, and preface, p. ccxiv.

[3] Ep. i., Clementis, §§ 28, 29; Ep. ii., Stephani I., § 9; Ep. Luci, § 5; Ep. Aniciti, § 2; Hinschius, pp. 39, 185, 176, 121.

against one of the ten commandments.[1] In dogmatic affairs he confines himself to decisions of the early councils. There is no allusion, for example, to the Gottschalk controversy, due probably to his desire to appear orthodox and to avoid theological entanglement. Many other questions in dispute at that time, and which came up for discussion in the councils, were left unnoticed by him, showing beyond a doubt that we have fully considered what seemed to him the most important matters for reform, and that his collection, after all, was drawn up to accomplish a few, but very important things. He preferred to make sure of success in those particulars by continued reiteration, rather than to attempt so many different things that the energy and force of his work would be dissipated.

It has been said sometimes, and it is supposed quite generally, that the main object of the decretals was to enhance the supremacy of Rome, but this view is now given up by all the best and most recent scholars.

In the first place, most of the arguments for it have been directly disproved. The Forged Decretals were not composed by the popes, nor written at Rome. They were not first known to the popes, nor first used by the popes ; indeed, were used very little by the popes until after the tenth century, when they had become incorporated into the general ecclesiastical legislation. They give recognition to the authority of papal decretals, which had already begun to be shown in the Dionysian collection, and

[1] Ep. ii., Pii I., § 9 ; Hinschius, p. 119 ; Neander, vol. iii., p. 348.

had been greatly increased by Gregory the Great. The powers ascribed to the Roman bishop were very evidently granted for the freeing of the church from secular control, and for protecting and increasing the power of the bishops.

If the author had had in view the advantages and privileges of the Roman See in and for itself, he must have paid some attention to the patrimony of St. Peter, the gifts of lands, rights, and powers of which the papal letters of the eighth century were full. True, the Donation of Constantine is inserted, but that was a forgery already in existence. It forms an isolated instance in his collection, and the favorable opportunities to uphold and strengthen it in the papal letters of the fourth and fifth centuries he does not even notice.[1] Indeed, the position given to the primates and the mere mention of papal vicars, in only four places,[2] are regarded by Hinschius and others as showing that Pseudo-Isidore was more intent on freeing the bishops from the metropolitans than on extending the power of the popes.[3]

The later history of the decretals throws more light on these questions. As we have seen, the first distinct reference to them was at the Council of Soissons, in 853, when questions came up regarding the validity of the ordinations made by the deposed Ebbo. In 857 they were quoted at the Council of Kiersy, and it is evident that they were first known

[1] Wasserschleben, p. 371.
[2] Ep. i., Marcelli, § 2; Ep. Victoris, § 5; Ep. i., Sixti II., § 2; Decreta Julii, § 12; Hinschius, pp. 224, 128, 190, 467.
[3] Hinschius, pp. ccxxv., cxcix., cc.

to Nicholas I., so as to be used by him in 865,[1] though both Hinschius and Wasserschleben refer to the fact that Servatus Lupus called the pope's attention to them in 857 or 858 ; but Nicholas in his reply passed over the reference in silence.[2] Later, however, in the disputes with Hincmar about Hincmar of Laon and Rothad of Soissons he undoubtedly made use of them. The process between the two Hincmars furnishes an example of a complete practical application of the Forged Decretals on the side of the nephew, the decretals here serving, in their original sense and character, the special Pseudo-Isidorian—that is, episcopalian tendency ; while in the case of Rothad, and later on, they were always appropriated to the papal interests.[3] With Hincmar opposition to them ceased for a long time. After Nicholas I. they were used by Hadrian II.,[4] also by Stephen IV., Leo IX., Gregory VII., and Paschal II.[5] The Frankish and German episcopate clearly recognized the danger which threatened the existing ecclesiastical constitution and valid rights by means of them, and they were quoted only in harmless passages in the synods of the last part of the ninth century. In the Synod of Rheims, in 991, one more strong resistance was made against them by the Frankish bishops, but the ecclesiastical indifference and demoralization of the bishops, to-

[1] Hinschius, pp. cciv.–ccvii.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. cciv. ; Wasserschleben, pp. 380, 381.
[3] Wasserschleben, pp. 381, 382.
[4] Ep. 28, Ad Episcopos Duziac ; Harduin, Concilia, vol. iv., p. 722 ; a passage from Anterus.
[5] Wasserschleben, p. 383.

gether with their general absorption in political affairs, brought the unresisting church into complete dependence upon the power of Rome, and annulled the early independence and national individuality. It was therefore those general ecclesiastical, political, and moral conditions which brought about this result, while the forgeries alone never would have made it possible.[1]

"The same shield under which Pseudo-Isidore fought for the protection of the bishops against metropolitans and synods, the primacy of Rome, was the same with which the Church of Rome crushed them." In this way the Forged Decretals, in complete opposition to their original purpose, became a lever for raising and supporting the power of the papacy.[2]

Just as Pippin and Charles the Great, in connection with their coronations, had ascribed to the pope, for their own benefit and advancement, a power which he was only too ready to use with such endorsement, and which he never afterwards forgot, so did Pseudo-Isidore ascribe to the papal see, for the protection of the bishops, powers which it speedily went on to realize and to use for its own sake. If all this is true, it will be seen that the influence of the Forged Decretals, based on a misconception of their contents and history, has been very much overestimated, but there is no difficulty in accepting the statement of Alzog.

"The compilers of the decretals by stating as facts what were only the opinions or the tendencies

[1] Neander, vol. iii., p. 350. [2] Wasserschleben, p. 380.

of the age, by giving as ancient and authentic documents such as were supposititious and modern, and by putting forward as established rights and legal precedents claims entirely destitute of such warrant, did, in matter of fact, *hasten* the development and insure the triumph of the very ideas and principles they advocated, signally contributed to the growth of that spirit of freedom among the bishops which made them independent of the secular power, and gave a new impulse to the increasing influence of the head of the church (*episcopus universalis*), especially in its relations to *metropolitans* and *provincial synods*." [1]

Down to the fifteenth century belief in their genuineness was quite general, only a few voices being raised against them. Peter Comeston, in the twelfth century, Stephen of Tournay, in the thirteenth, Marsilius of Padua, in the fourteenth, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, in the fifteenth, and Erasmus, in the sixteenth, questioned their genuineness, but it remained for the Magdeburg Centuriators, the great Protestant historians of the sixteenth century, to give full proof of their spuriousness, while shortly after, in 1628, David Blondel, in a masterly work against the Jesuit Turrian, who had made one more attempt to defend them, finally decided the question of their falsity, which to-day no one doubts.

[1] Alzog, vol. ii., p. 274.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE HEIGHT OF THE PAPACY—NICHOLAS I.—HADRIAN II.—JOHN VIII.—END OF THE CAROLINGIAN LINE IN ITALY—IN GERMANY—IN FRANCE—DEGRADATION OF THE PAPACY.

AS a result of the impetus and support given by the early Carolingians, especially by Charles the Great, and the spirit which was or had worked in the first half of the ninth century, and which found its completest expression in the Forged Decretals, the height of the papacy was reached in the three popes whose pontificates cover a little more than the third quarter of the ninth century (858–882)—Nicholas I., Hadrian II., and John VIII. Nicholas I. was the greatest of the popes between Gregory I. and Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), a man of resolute determination, of clear insight, and of keen intellect. He was supported by a strong public opinion, and was able to take advantage of the political conditions of his age. In three great controversies he showed at once his moral greatness and the wide influence which his position afforded, as well as the strength of the papal organization as it had grown up under his predecessors

through the fostering care of the Carolingian kings and emperors. The first struggle was with Lothair II., of Lotharingia, the second son of the Emperor Lothair. He had discarded his wife, Thietberga, accusing her of heinous crimes in order to marry his mistress, Waldrada. Though the queen was acquitted by a civil tribunal in 858, Lothair treated her so cruelly that she was induced to confess herself guilty before a synod at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 859, held in the presence of the two metropolitans, Günther of Cologne and Thietgaut of Trèves. Afterwards regretting this act, she fled to Charles the Bald in Neustria. Lothair, however, induced a second synod, held in 860, to annul his marriage with her, and he formally married Waldrada. Hincmar, however, defended the queen, and she appealed to the pope. Nicholas sent two Italian bishops as his legates to investigate the affair, but being bribed by the king, they pronounced in his favor at a synod in Metz in 863. Nicholas himself then took the matter in hand, excommunicated his legates, and deposed the two metropolitans. In order to retaliate, they incited the Emperor Louis II., Lothair's brother, to take up their cause. He went so far as to attack Rome, but soon came to an understanding with the pope.

Lothair was brought to terms, and a papal legate obliged him to put away Waldrada and to take back his queen. Waldrada, however, exercised her charms, and was once more restored to the favor of the king. The queen now asked for a divorce, but Nicholas would not grant it.

His successor, Hadrian II., continued the struggle, and finally Lothair himself went to Rome, and took a solemn oath that he had been innocent of any wrong after taking back Thietberga. The pope accordingly administered the sacrament to him, but on his way home he died, in 869.

The second affair was in relation to Constantinople and the Eastern Church. Ignatius, the patriarch, had been deposed and banished for excommunicating Barbas, the uncle of the Emperor Michael III. and regent of the empire, who had been living in open sin. Photius, formerly commander of the imperial forces, was put in his place, and appealed to Nicholas to support him. Nicholas sent two legates, who in 861 decided against Ignatius. Here again Nicholas, who had made independent inquiry, deposed his own legates, reversed their action, and declared in favor of Ignatius. Photius called a synod in 867, and accused the Church of Rome of many intolerable heresies. At the request of the pope an able reply was written by Ratramnus of Corbie. In the same year Michael was murdered, and Basil, his murderer, became his successor, and supported the cause of Ignatius, appealing to Hadrian II. Ignatius was restored by a synod at Constantinople in 869, regarded by the Romans as the eighth general council. Photius bore his defeat with patience, became reconciled to Ignatius, and when the latter died, in 878, Photius was restored to the patriarchate. He was deposed again in 886 by a new emperor, Leo VI., and died in monastic exile in 891.

The third struggle was much more serious and of greater importance to the organization of the church and to the claims of the papal power, involving as it did a struggle with the leading archbishop of the West, and the practical overthrow of any independent episcopal authority. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, had deposed Rothad, bishop of Soissons, in 861. Rothad appealed to the pope on the ground of the rights conferred by the Sardican canons, and after a long and severe struggle Nicholas secured his reinstatement in 865. A similar contest took place under Hadrian II. Hincmar deposed his own nephew, Hincmar of Laon, and Hadrian, in 869, took up the side of the nephew, but the metropolitan gained the victory.

John VIII., the last of the three popes, and the last great pope before the weakness and corruption of the next two centuries, seemed to have attained a complete victory over the temporal power. He succeeded in freeing the papal chair almost completely from the imperial authority. After the death of the emperor, Louis II., he supported the claims of Charles the Bald, who appeared in Rome, and was crowned by him on Christmas Day, 875, but, as we have seen, this support was purchased by Charles at the price of great concessions. Hincmar and his clergy made a determined protest, and at the synod in 876 a violent controversy arose. Nor was either the pope or the emperor satisfied; indeed, the pope had freed the papacy from the imperial power only to leave it unprotected to the sport and passions of nobles and party factions in

and about Rome, and he died, in 882, apparently by the hand of an assassin. Hincmar died in the same year, and the glory and independence of the Frankish archbishops disappeared for a time.

In the corruption and disorder that ensued, the papacy, separated from the empire, became the sport and prey of the factions of Italian nobles, and sank into weakness and confusion, which lasted until the Synod of Sutri, in 1046.

The empire, divided by the strife and struggles of the sons and successors of Louis the Pious, though united for one brief moment under the weak and ignominious rule of Charles the Fat, finally fell apart in 887, never to be reunited.

The Carolingian line died out in Italy in 899, in Germany in 911, and in France in 987. The empire which Otto I. created in 962 was the Holy Roman Empire of the German people, but of the vast domains of Charles the Great it comprised only Germany and Italy. Thus for a time the weakening of the empire and the division of the imperial forces had seemed to aid the papacy to realize the position, and to exercise the powers gained by the influence of Charles the Great, but it overreached itself, and the final collapse of the imperial power left it without anything on which to lean for support. Like the air to the flying bird was the imperial power to the papacy, and the weakness of the empire was followed in this, as in every instance, by papal demoralization.

INDEX.

Abassides, overthrow Ommiads, 165.
Abogard of Lyons, 420.
Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, 250, 270, 379, 388.
Adalung, abbot of Saint Vedast, 392.
Addula, abbess, 186.
Adelbert, condemned by Boniface, 77, 107; at Soissons, 106.
Adelperga, 191.
Adoptionists, condemned, 255, 263 sq.; belief, 266, 350.
Adrian. See HADRIAN.
Adrianople, battle of, 26.
Ætius, chief minister of Irene, 216.
Ætius, Roman general, 29.
Agobard, 269, 351, 359, 363.
Aistulf, King of Lombards, 129; relations to Stephen III., 131 sq.; struggle with Franks, 140 sq.; final subjection, 146 sq.; killed, 151; characterized, 152.
Alaric, 26.
Albinus, 316.
Alboin, leader of Lombards, 96.
Alcuin, 183, 188; on Charles, 172, 214, 215; meets Charles, 236; "Four Caroline Books," 261; treatise, 266, 267, 268; meets Felix, 269; on the Filioque, 270; on Egbert, 317; sketch of life, 318; relations to Charles, 322 sq.; powers, 324, 325; specimens of questions, 328 sq.; of definitions, 333; poor Greek scholar, 333, 334, 335; no evidence as to Hebrew, 334; great theologian, 336; timid, 337; influence, 337; trials, 339; abbot of Tours, 340 sq.; opposes Irish school, 349, 350; refutes Felix, 350; death, 350; summing up, 350, 351.
Alemanni, 30, 31; Fridolin among, 55; rebellion, 110, 112.
Alexander III., canonization of Charles, 299.
Alexandria, patriarchate, 18; in Pseudo Isidore, 439.
Almansor, 165.
Alubert, bishop, 187.
Alzog, on Images, 85; on Forged Decretals, 435, 436, 450, 451.
Amelia, occupied by Liutprand, 126; restored, 128.
Amola, 370.
Amoricans, 31.
Ampère on "De Litteris Colendis," 337; on growth of Protestantism, 363; on Scotus, 372; on Hincmar, 419.
Anagrates, monastery, 55.
Anastasius, Emperor, titles Clovis, 31.
Anastasius, papal biographer, on Donation of Charles, 196.
Anastasius, patriarch of Constantinople, 87.
Andrews, on Charles, 240.
Anegrey, monastery, 55, 345.
Angilbert, abbot, 263, 334, 335.

Angilram, bishop of Metz, capitularies of, 427, 429.
Aniane, monastery, 281.
Anointing, 120, 121.
Ansegis, abbot of Fontenelles, 426.
Ansegis, son of Arnulf, 42.
Anselm, 387.
Ansgar, missionary, 416; mission destroyed, 417; see of Bremen, 417; success, 417; "Apostle of the North," 418.
Antioch, patriarchate, 18; in Pseudo Isidore, 439.
Apocrisiarius, 95.
Apostolic Canons (false), 428.
Aquitanians, submission, 65; rebellion, 110, 161; revolt on death of Pippin, 168.
Arabia, Arabs, 64; contests with Charles Martel, 64 sq., 101; conflicts with Christians, 293, 294. See MAHOMET.
Ardgar, hermit, 417.
Arians, Arianism, 30, 31, 44, 51, 52, 63, 436.
Arichis, duke of Benevento. See BENEVENTO.
Aristotle, study of, in Charles's time, 320.
Arithmetic, in Charles's time, 336.
Arno, missionary, 418.
Arnulf, bishop of Metz, 3, 41, 49.
Astronomy, in Charles's time, 336.
Athalgis, son of Desiderius, 191, 197.
Athanasius, relation to Forged Decretals, 442.
Atto, bishop of Vercelli, 422.
Augustine, English missionary, 344.
Augustine, studied by Charles, 19, 226; against Transubstantiation, 364.
Aurelius of Carthage, 427.
Austrasia, 32, 34; battle of Testry, 42; power, 59; peace under Pippin, 122.
Autchar, duke, 133.
Avars, 236 sq., 293.
Avitus, to Clovis, 45.
Aymer, 373.

Baldwin, 373.
Barbarians, 10. See under separate titles.
Barbas, uncle of Michael III., 454.
Basil, murderer of Michael III., 454.
Baugulf, abbot of Fulda, 338.
Bavaria, Bavarians, 33; Boniface among, 70, 75; rebellion, 110 sq.
Bede, 20; on mission of Willibrod, 59; on Biscop, 314; work, 314, 315, 317; on study of Greek, 334.
Begga, daughter of Pippin, 42.
Belisarius, defeats Vandals, 26; conquests, 92.
Benedict, archdeacon of Rome, 392.
Benedict Biscop, 312, 313, 314.
Benedict Levite, 287, 427, 430.
Benedict of Aniane, 268, 281, 386, 400.
Benedict of Nursia, 54.
Benedict, Rule of, 280, 281, 386, 400; enforced at first German synod, 105.
Benedictines, 53, 54.
Benefices, 35, 62, 105.
Benevento, duke of, 125, 152, 153, 190, 197, 236, 237, 290, 293.
Bernhard, count of Barcelona. 398, 399, 404.
Bernhard, grandson of Charles, 296, 378, 379; relations to Leo, 380, 381; conspiracy, 386, 387; surrender, 387; death, 387, 388.
Bernhard, uncle of Charles, 234, 380.
Bernharius, bishop of Worms, 270.

Bertrada, queen of Pippin, 118, 138, 169, 170.
Beser, influence on Leo, 84.
Biscop, Benedict, 312, 313, 314.
Bishops, position of, 20, 21, 46; metropolitan system, 273 sq.; election, 277; influence, 278 sq., 284; subordinate, 279; temporal power, 284; under Louis, 286, 359; feudalism and secularization, 419 sq., 423 sq.; effect of Forged Decretals on, 427 sq., 448.
Blera, occupied by Liutprand, 126; restored, 128.
Blidulfus, 373.
Blondel, David, on False Decretals, 451.
Bobbio, monastery, 56, 345.
Boethius, 320, 336.
Bohemians, 293.
Bomarzo, occupied by Liutprand, 126; restored, 128.
Boniface, 20, 57; on bishops under Charles Martel, 61; on Charles Martel, 67; "Apostle of Germany," 68; life, 68 sq.; oath to St. Peter, 71; importance of work, 73 sq., 99, 108, 110; archbishop, 75; papal legate, 75, 109; among Bavarians, 75; diocesan system in Frankish centres, 76, 107, 108; at first German synod, 76, 104; settles at Mainz, 77, 108, 109; monastery of Fulda, 77; secures condemnations of bishops, 77; no part in Pippin's plots, 78; letter to Cuthbert, 78, 108; resignation, 79; martyrdom, 79; power under Karlmann, 103; consecrates bishops of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens, 106; connection with Pippin's synods, 107; not primate of all Germany, 108; influence over Gregory of Utrecht, 186; on Sturm, 187; patronage of king, 424, 425.
Bremen, diocese, 189.
Bretwalda, Offa, 292.
Brunhilda, 40, 55.
Bryce on coronation of Charles, 210, 211.
Buraburg, bishopric, 76.
Burchard, bishop of Wurzburg, 117.
Burgundians, Burgundy, 31; conquered, 33; part of Merovingian monarchy, 34; conversion, 44; reconquered, 65.
Bury, on coronation of Charles, 222, 223.

Cæcilius, taunt of Christians, 83.
Calabria, 124.
"Canonical life," 280.
Canons, Dionysian, 283.
Canons, Sardican, 287.
Capella, Martianus, 320, 371.
Capet, Hugh, 414.
Capitularies, Saxon, 177 sq.; of Charles, 229 sq., 244 sq., 255 sq.; of Frankfort, 275; of Louis, 281, 354, 383; of Angilram, 429; of Isidore and others, 426 sq.
Carolingians, 3, 25; end, 413, 414, 456. See under names of monarchs.
Cassiodorus, 320, 336.
Chalcedon, Council of, 347.
Châlons, battle of, 29.
Charlemagne. See CHARLES THE GREAT.
Charles Martel, 3, 42, 60; relations to Church, 60 sq., 67, 76, 101; victory over Mahometans, 64, 65; reconquers Burgundy, 65; attacks Friesians, 65; Saxons, 65; continues struggle against Arabs, 65; difficulties, 66; drives Arabs to far South, 66; peace, 66; appealed to by Gregory III. against Lombards, 101, 102, 126; death, 102; division of

kingdom, 103 ; view of Church property, 310.
Charles the Bald, 297 ; characteristics, 360, 361, 366 ; Eucharistic controversy, 364 ; friendship for Scotus, 366, 367 ; birth, 391 ; kingdom, 397 ; new division, 405 ; sent to monastery, 407 ; fresh attempt to enlarge territory, 409 ; receives knightly belt and territory, 409 ; attacked by Lothair, 411 ; victory, 412 ; compact with Louis, 412 ; treaty of Verdun, 413 ; relations to Ebbo, 442 ; to Hincmar, 444, 455.
Charles the Bold, accepts crown, 224.
Charles the Fat, 414, 456.
Charles the Great, title to greatness, 2, 3, 6, 7, 170 sq., 240 sq., 377 ; the era, 3 ; creates Carolingian empire, 25 ; overthrows Lombards, 27 ; meets Stephen III., 134 ; consecration, 138 ; "Patrician of the Romans," 138, 139, 202, 204 ; letter from Hadrian I., 157, 198 sq., 282 ; crowned at Noyon, 168 ; relations to Karlmann, 169 ; overtures to Tassilo and Desiderius, 169 ; disowns wife, 170 ; takes up his great work, 170 sq. ; sketch of life, 171 sq. ; relations to Church, 171, 172, 226, 281 sq., 425 ; wars with Saxons, 172 sq. ; subjection of Saxons, 176 sq., 182 ; massacre of Verden, 180 ; fresh revolts, 182, 183 ; final conquest, 184 ; "Enlightener of the Saxons," 185 sq. ; relations to missionaries, 185 sq. ; marriage, 191 sq. ; letter from Cuthwulf, 194 ; Lombard war, 195, 196 ; enters Rome, 196 ; "King of the Lombards," 197 ; not crowned with iron crown, 198 ; Donation, 196, 200, 201 ; protection of Leo, 205 ; in Rome again, 205, 236 ; coronation, 207 ; theories concerning, 210 sq. ; relations to East, 214 sq. ; letter to Michael, 217 ; Rome not his home, 224 ; imperial supremacy, 225 ; fond of Augustine, 226, 227 ; General admonition, 227 sq. ; theocracy, 231 sq. ; Spanish campaign, 233 sq. ; at Pavia, 235 ; capitularies, 235, 244 sq., 255 sq. ; meets Alcuin, 236 ; conquers Avars, 236 sq. ; allegiance of Benevento, 236, 237 ; subdues Tassilo, 237 ; threefold nature of his work, 241 sq. ; administration of government, 242 sq. ; national assemblies and synods, 249 sq. ; iconoclastic controversy, 259 sq. ; "Four Caroline Books," 261 ; Adoptionism condemned, 263 sq. ; Filioque, 269 sq. ; "Veni Creator," 271 ; attempt to establish metropolitan centres, 277 ; nomination and election of bishops, 277, 278 ; "Canonical Life," 280 ; Dionysian canons, 283 ; sacramentary of Gregory, 283 ; marriage laws, 283 ; tithes, 283 ; supreme judge of clergy, 284 ; closing years, 288 sq., 297 sq. ; revision of laws, 288, 289 ; relations to Mahometans, 290 ; papal support, 290 ; friendly to foreigners, 292 ; protects Louis against corrupt administration, 294 ; distribution of kingdoms, 295 ; takes field against Danes, 296 ; confers crown on Louis, 298 ; last sickness and death, 299 ; canonized, 299 ; summary, 300 sq. ; schools, 303, 304 ; intellectual life and development, 303 sq., 326, 330 sq. ; relations to Alcuin, 322 sq. ; "De Litteris

Colendis," 337; relations to Irish scholars, 349 sq.; forces of disunion, 374 sq.
Charles, son of Charles the Great, 182, 292; early career, 293; kingdom, 295, 296; death, 296.
Charles, son of Pippin, and grandson of Louis the Pious, 409.
Childeric I., 29.
Childeric III., 103, 115.
Chilperic, 47.
Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, 133, 280; rule, 352, 386, 400.
"Chorepiscopoi," 279.
Chronicles of Moissac, on coronation of Charles, 208 sq.
Church, first three centuries, 14 sq.; inheritance, 14; religion established, 16, 17. See ROME, CHURCH OF.
Classe, taken by Pippin, 146.
Claudius, bishop of Turin, 363.
Clement, condemned by Boniface, 77.
Clement of Ireland, 349, 365.
Clement. See WILLIBROD.
Clergy, Forged Decretals on, 427 sq. See BISHOPS.
Clodio, or Clogio, 29.
Clotaire II., 33, 39, 40, 56.
Clovis, 8, 29; victory over Syagrius, 29; conversion, 30; greatness, 30, 31; conquests, 31; king of Ripuarians, 32; division of kingdom at death, 32; Catholic champion, 44, 45, 97; contrasted with Theodoric, 92; not anointed, 121.
Cluny, 373.
Cnut, 419.
Cœlestine, primacy of Peter, 22, footnote; greatness, 24.
Cologne, archbishopric, 274.
Coloni, 10.
Columba, St., 55, 344.
Columbanus, missionary, 55, 345, 347 sq., 351.
Comeston, Peter, on Forged Decretals, 451.
Conrad, brother of Judith, 404.
Constantine V., 103.
Constantine VI., betrothed to Ruthrud, 212, 261.
Constantine, Phrygian bishop, 84.
Constantine, Donation of, 89, 155 sq., 448.
Constantinople, struggle with Rome, 4; patriarchate, 18. See EASTERN CHURCH AND EMPIRE.
Corbie, monastery, 357.
Council, Seventh General, 103.
Courts, Ecclesiastical, 285.
Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, 78, 108.
Cuthwulf, letter to Charles, 194.
Cyprian, 19; appeal to Rome, 18.
Cyril, Greek monk, 419.

Dagobert, 33, 39, 41.
Dalmatia, 218.
Damasus, Pope, 23, 427.
Damiani, Peter, 421, 422.
Danes, invasion, 296, 340, 341, 360, 361, 375; missions among, 415 sq.
Daniel, bishop of Winchester, 69.
Dante, on Donation of Constantine, 158.
Decretals, False, 287, 425, 426, 427 sq. See DONATION OF CONSTANTINE.
De Maistre, on Charles, 2.
Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius, 191, 193, 194..
Desiderius, King of Lombards, 152, 153, 160, 169; political alliances, 190; war with Charles, 195, 196; conquered, 197, 198.
Diaconus, Paulus, on Charles, 240, 241.
Dialectic, in time of Charles, 336, 355.
Diocletian, 13.

Dionysian canons, 283, 426.
Dionysius Exiguus, 426.
Donation of Charles, 196, 200, 201.
Donation of Constantine, 89, 155 sq., 448.
Donation of Pippin, 136 sq.
Dorner, on Adoptionism, 264, 265.
Drochtegang, abbot of Jumièges, 133.
Drogo, 380, 387, 388.
Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, 422.
Dyotheletic Synod, 264.

Eardulf, 290.
Easter dispute, 346, 347.
Eastern Church and Empire, struggle with Rome, 4; relation of Charles to, 214 sq., 222; Filioque controversy, 269 sq. See Exarchs; Image Worship; Leo III.
Eaubald, archbishop of York, 323.
Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, 174, footnote, 407, 408, 420; work among the Danes, 415 sq.; bearing of Forged Decretals on, 441 sq.
Eberhard, 408.
Edict of 615, 40.
Egbert, archbishop of York, 317, 318.
Egypt, Mahometan, 64.
Eichstädt, bishopric, 76.
Einhard, on Karlmann, 112; on puppet kings, 115; on Frankish support of papacy, 136; on war with Saxons, 173 sq.; on coronation of Charles, 212; on double emperorship, 217; on Haroun al Raschid and Charles, 291; on Charles's intellectual attainments, 326; on Rabanus, 356; letter to Lothair and death, 401 sq.; Elipantus, archbishop of Toledo, 263, 264, 268.
Emerton, on distinction of race and language among Franks, 412.
England, Church of, time of Charles, 311 sq.; previous to Norman conquest, 424.
English, conversion of, 20.
Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, use of word "pope," 23, footnote.
Ephesus, Council of, primacy of Peter at, 22, footnote.
Episcopate. See Bishops.
Erasmus, on Forged Decretals, 451.
Erfurt, bishopric, 76.
Eric of Auxerre, 373.
Eric of Jutland, 417.
Erigena. See Scotus.
Erimbert, 417, 418.
Estinnes, Council at, 105.
Ethelbert, archbishop of York, 318, 322.
Eucharist, 265, 363 sq.
Eudes, 65.
Eugene II., 393; peaceful reign, 397.
Eutychians, 265.
Exarchs, Exarchate, 88, 93, 95, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 139, 203, 204.
Exiguus, Dionysius, 426.

False Decretals, 23, 287, 425, 426, 427 sq.
Farfa, monastery, 392.
Felix of Urgel, heresies condemned by Charles, 231, 263, 267 sq.; belief, 266; meets Alcuin, 269; refuted by Alcuin, 350.
Feudalism, 5, 21, 35, 36, 40, 46, 47, 65, 258, 284, 300, 301, 302, 375, 376, 378, 403, 419 sq., 423 sq.
"Field of Lies," 406.
Filioque clause, 269 sq.
Fleury, on letter from St. Peter, 145.
Florus of Lyons, Eucharistic con-

troversy, 364; predestination controversy, 370.
Foldrad, abbot of St. Denis, 117, 133, 147, 159.
Fontanæ, 55.
Fontenay, 55, 411.
Frankfort, assembly of, 255, 263, 268.
Frankfort, capitularies of, 275.
Franks, the, 5, 25, 27; Catholics, 44; help from Church, 45; difference between their kingdom and other German kingdoms, 58; prestige established, 100; rebellions after death of Charles, 110 sq.; significance of Pippin's coronation, 118, 119; donation of Pippin, 136 sq.; bound to papacy, 151; council of Vermeuil, 162 sq.; distinctions of race and language, 412. See under names of kings.
Frederick I., canonization of Charles, 299.
Freising, bishopric, 75.
Fridolin, Irish missionary, 55.
Friesians, 59, 65, 69.
Frodoard, 373.
Fulda, 77, 187, 354, 359.
Fulrad. See FOLDRAD.

Gallese, acquisition of by Gregory, 125.
Gallus, founder of St. Gall, 56.
Gauzbert, missionary, 417.
General admonition, 227 sq.; 338.
Gentilly, Synod at, 269.
Gerberga, daughter of Desiderius, 191.
German Church. See BONIFACE.
Germans, inheritors of Roman power and civilization, 13, 25 sq.; results of migrations and conquests, 43 sq. See CLOVIS; CHARLES THE GREAT; MEROVINGIANS; FRANKS, and names of separate tribes.
German Synods, First, 76, 104; Second, 105.
Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, deposed, 87.
Gerold, brother-in-law of Charles, 237.
Gerold, count, 380.
Gerung, 389.
Gewillieb, 109.
Gibbon, on Theodoric, 92; on temporal power, 159; on Charles, 240.
Gieslemar, monk, 416.
Gisla, sister of Charles, 170, 191.
Goths, 26, 30; conversion, 43.
Gottfried, 373.
Gottschalk, on Predestination, 368 sq.
Grammar, time of Charles, 335, 336.
Gratian, confers papal rights upon Damasus, 23.
Greece, intellectual inheritance from, 8, 9.
Greek Church. See EASTERN CHURCH.
Greek, study of, time of Charles, 333.
Gregorovius, on conquest of Liutprand, 100; on Iconoclasm, 123.
Gregory I., greatness, 24, 97, 98, 124; on image worship, 82; checks Lombards, 97, 98; Milman on, 98.
Gregory II., aids Boniface, 69; policy towards Leo, 87 sq., 123; checks Liutprand, 100; death, 101; probable attempt at confederation, 156.
Gregory III., relations to Boniface, 75; to Franks, 101, 102, 126; death, 102, 127; decrees against Iconoclasts, 123; conflict with Leo, 124; in possession of Gallese, 125; relations to Lombard dukes, 125; probable falsity of tradition of visit to Charles Martel, 133.

Gregory IV., 397, 406; missions in the North, 416.
Gregory VI., 373.
Gregory VII., enforces use of word "pope," 23, footnote; scholar of Cluny, 373; Forged Decretals, 449.
Gregory of Tours, on Clovis, 32; social position, 45; on Chilperic, 47, 48, footnote; on learning, 309; on Capella, 321.
Gregory of Utrecht, 186, 187.
Gregory the Great. See GREGORY I.
Grifo, 103; rebellion, 113, 114; killed, 114, footnote, 134; territory, 297.
Grimoald, 42.
Guizot, on Charles, 241; on assemblies, 254; on capitularies, 255, 256.
Günther of Cologne, 453.

Hadrian I., letter to Charles, 157, 198 sq., 282; policy, 195; Donation of Charles, 196, 200, 201; relations to East, 214; sends copy of Dionysian canons to Charles, 283; also copy of Sacramentary of Gregory, 283.
Hadrian II., 449, 454, 455.
Hadrian IV., claim to Ireland, 157.
Hadrian, missionary, 312, 315.
Halitgar, bishop of Cambray, 415.
Hambury, ecclesiastical jurisdictions, 275.
Hanold, duke of Aquitanians, 110, 111, 112, 168, 169.
Harold, King of Danes, 379, 415.
Haroun al Raschid, 291.
Hauréau, on Alcuin, 334.
Henry II., England, grant of Ireland, 158; canonization of Charles, 299.
Herbert, 404.
Hersfield, monastery, 187, 357.
Hertford, Council of, 70.
Hessians, Boniface among, 71, 73.
Hildegard, 193.
Hildelidis, 315.
Hildibald, 274, 299, 373, 381.
Hildigar, bishop of Cologne, 134.
Hincmar, on General Assemblies, 250; power, 276, 353, 359, 419, 420; relations to Gottschalk, 370; to Charles the Bald, 444; to Nicholas I., 449, 455; defends Thietberga, 453; relations to Hadrian II., 455; death, 456.
Hincmar of Laon, 449, 455.
Hinschius, on Pseudo Isidore, 429 sq., 448, 449. See DONATION OF CONSTANTINE.
Hirschau, monastery, 357.
Holy Roman Empire, 224, 456.
Horik of Jutland, 417.
Hugo, father-in-law of Lothair, 399.
Hugo, son of Charles, 380, 387, 388.
Humfrid, count of Coire, 392.
Huns, 26, 29, 375, footnote.

Ibas, letter to Maris, 347.
Ibn-al-Arabi, governor of Saragossa, 234.
Iconoclasm. See IMAGE WORSHIP.
Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, 454.
Illyricum, translated to patriarchate of Constantinople, 124.
Image Worship, 81 sq., 99; iconoclasm, 85, 87, 88; decrees of Gregory III., 123, 124; council of Nicea in favor of, 214, 259 sq.; Constantinopolitan decrees condemned at Frankfort, 255.
Immunities, 284, 285, 327.
Ingelheim, diet of, 237.
Innocent I., 24; greatness, 98.
Ireland, zeal in, 54; development of learning in, 310 sq.,

343 sq.; school opposed by Alcuin and Theodulf, 349 sq.
Irene, 209.
Irmingard, wife of Lothair, 388.
Irmingard, wife of Louis, 382, 387.
Isaac of Constantinople, addresses Frederick as emperor, 218.
Isidore Mercator, 427.
Isidore of Seville, 320, 336, 426, 427.
Islam. See MAHOMETANISM.
Italy, after division of empire, 91 sq.; national movement, 125.

Jerusalem, first local centre of Church, 15; patriarchate, 18:
Jews, image worship, hindrance to conversion, 83.
John, archbishop of Arles, 381.
John, bishop of Blanche-Selve, 392, 393.
John VIII., offers crown to Charles the Bold, 224; greatness, 455.
Judith, wife of Louis, 388, 391, 397, 400, 404, 410; godmother to Danish queen, 412.
Julius, bishop of Rome, right to receive appeals, 22.
Justinian, 92.

Karlmann, son of Charles Martel, 76, 103; relations to Boniface, 103; German synods, 103 sq.; proceeds against Saxons, 111; murders Alemannians, 112; retirement, 112, 129; urges Pippin not to yield to Stephen, 140; removed to Vienna and death, 141.
Karlmann, brother of Charles, consecrated by Stephen III., 138; "Patrician of the Romans," 138, 139; crowned at Soissons, 168; desertion of Charles, 169, 194; marriage, 170, 191 sq.; death, 168, 170, 194.
Karlmann, son of Charles, 236.
Kiersy, Council of, 448.

Labuinus, missionary, 186.
Landfrid, duke of the Alemannians, 113.
Langobards. See LOMBARDS.
Learning. See ALCUIN; CHARLES THE GREAT; LOUIS THE PIOUS.
Lehuerou, on consecration of Clovis, 121; on General Assemblies, 255.
Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, 268.
Leo I., pope, primacy of Peter, 22, footnote; greatness, 24, 98; relation to Pippin, 296.
Leo III., emperor, victory over Mahometans, 64; on images, 82, 84, 85; edict, 86, 87; death, 102; conflict with Gregory III., 124; confers Mirfa and Norma on pope, 129.
Leo III., pope, receives Charles's royal claims, 204; flees to Charles, 205; purgation, 205, 206; crowns Charles, 207; Frankish account of coronation, 208; Filioque, 270; severity, 380; troubles and death, 380, 381.
Leo. V., emperor, 379.
Leo VI., emperor, 454.
Leo IX., pope, Forged Decretals, 449.
Leo, master of the Knights, 393.
Leo, son-in-law of Theodore of the papal palace, 392.
Lestinnes, council at, 105.
Liptinæ, council at, 105.
Liutprand, ally of Charles Martel, 66, 107; checked by Gregory II., 100; death, 102, 128; attacks Spoleto, 126; present at the function of Zacharias, 127; treaty with Zacharias, 128; attacks Ravenna, 128.

Lombards, 25, 27; conversion, 44; aid Charles Martel, 66; time of Leo III., 88 sq.; anarchy, 93; invasion, 95 sq.; history sketched, 96; checked by Gregory, 97, 98; by Gregory II., 100; final efforts, 155; marriage alliances with Franks, 190 sq.; war with Charles, 195, 196; conquest, 197, 198. See AISTULF; LIUTPRAND.

Lorenz, on education in eighth century, 305, 333.

Lothair I., crowned in Rome, 224, 358, 378; crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, 384, 385; marriage, 388; in Italy and Rome, 389; godfather to Charles the Bald, 391; protector, 392; strength, 392; sent to adjust relations with Eugene II., 394; supreme in Rome, 394; Roman constitution, 394 sq.; encroachments of Charles the Bald, 398; against Louis, 398; confined to Italy, 399; letter from Einhard, 401 sq.; headstrong, 403; open rebellion, 404; restores father to rights, 404, 405; new division of territory, 405; supreme, 406, 407; brothers plot against him, 407; submission, 408; division of empire with Charles, 410; arms against his brothers, 411; joins with Pippin, 411; defeat at Fontenay, 412; treaty of Verdun, 413; case of Ebbo, 441, 442.

Lothair II., 453, 454.

Louis the Pious, coronation, 213; never at Rome, 224; King of Aquitania, 236, 293; administration of districts under, 248, 254, 255; election of bishops, 277; position of bishops under, 279; "Canonical Life," 281; capitularies, 281, 354, 383; early career, 293, 294; kingdom, 295; gives duchy of Maine to his son, 297; closing years of his father's life, 297; joint emperorship with father, 298; translation of Scriptures, 352; no encouragement to Irish school, 365; not speculative, 366; forces of disunion in kingdom, 374 sq., 384; early career on throne, 378, 379; relations with Leo, 380; with Stephen V., 381; crowned, 382; donation to papacy, 383; Lothair crowned, 384; "Regulation of the Empire," 385, 388; rebellion of Bernhard, 386, 387; penance for severities, 388; sends Lothair to Italy, 389; investigations in Italy, 392 sq.; under influence of queen, 397 sq.; rebellion in family, 398, 400; characteristics, 400, 401; conquered by sons, 404; retired, 404; restored, 405; rebellion of Louis, 405, 406; fresh rebellions of sons, 406 sq.; Louis and Pippin to the rescue, 407; submission of Lothair, 408; territory of Charles, 409, 410; arms against Louis and death, 411; patron of missions, 416 sq.; case of Ebbo, 441.

Louis, son of Louis the Pious, dispute as to succession after death, 224; primogeniture, 378, 379; receives Bavaria, 385; sides with Lothair, 398; new division of territory, 405; rebellion, 405, 406; to rescue of his father, 407; submission of Lothair, 408; fresh plots, 409; possessions confirmed, 410; attacked by father, 411; compact with Charles, 412; treaty of Verdun, 413; offers see of Bremen to Ansgar, 417; relations to Ebbo, 442.

Louis II., brother of Lothair II., 224, 455.
Louis the German. See Louis, Son of Louis the Pious.
Ludwig the German. See Louis, Son of Louis the Pious.
Lügenfeld, 406.
Luidger, missionary, 186, 188.
Luitperga, 190.
Lull, successor of Boniface, 79, 274.
Lupus, duke of Wasconia, 169.
Lupus, Servatus, 357, 359, 361 sq., 449.
Lüttich, under Hildibald, 274.
Luxeuil, monastery, 55, 345.
Luxovium, monastery, 55.

Macchiavelli on Theodoric, 92.
Magdeburg Centuriators, 451.
Mahomet, Mahometanism, influence on Church, 4; victories and progress, 63 sq.; power, 63, 64; at diet of Paderborn, 233, 234; in Spain, 264; relations to Charles, 290; conflicts with Christians, 293, 294; predestination, 370; invasions, 375.
Maifield, Mayfield, 144, 162, 176, 249 sq., 254, 255.
Maine, duchy of, 296.
Mainz, ecclesiastical centre, 274; jurisdiction, 275, 276.
Major domus. See Mayors of Palace.
Marfield. See Maifield.
Mariolatry, 81.
Marriage, laws of, 283.
Marsilius of Padua, on Donation of Constantine, 158; on Forged Decretals, 451.
Maurus Rabanus. See Rabanus, Maurus.
Mayors of the palace, 38 sq., 59, 114 sq.
Martianus Capella, 320, 371.
Meaux, Council of, 435.
Merovingians, 3, footnote, 29 sq.; decay of power, 34 sq., 40; fall, 42.
Methodius, Greek monk, 419.
Metropolitan system, 276 sq.; Forged Decretals, 436, 438, 440 sq., 451.
Metz, ecclesiastical position, 276.
Michael I., emperor, relations to Charles, 217.
Michael III., emperor, 454.
Milman, on Gregory, 98.
Mirfa, conferred on Church, 129.
Missi Dominici, 243 sq.
Missionary work, 6, 53 sq.; under Charles, 184 sq., 343 sq.; among Danes, 415 sq.; in Sweden, 416, 417. See Ansgar; Arno; Columbanus; Boniface; Fridolin; Willibrod; Willehad.
Moissac, chronicles of, on coronation of Charles, 208 sq.
Mombert, story about Hildegard, 193; on intellectual greatness of Charles, 330 sq.
Monasteries, position of, in this era, 6, 21; united under Benedict, 54; immunities, 284, 285; history sketched, 307, 308.
Monophysitism, 84, 85, 264.
Monothelitism, 85, 264.
Mullinger, on Alcuin, 335, 350; on episcopal schools, 353; on Rabanus, 355; on Scotus, 371, 372.

Narses, overthrows Ostrogoths, 27; conquests, 92; relations to Lombards, 96.
Neander, on Adelbert, 107.
Nefrid, bishop of Narbonne, 268.
Nestorius, Nestorianism, 264.
Neustria, 32, 34; battle of Testry, 42; under Charles Martel, 60; under Pippin, 122; after death of Pippin, 168.
Nicephorus, 217.
Nicholas I., Forged Decretals, 449; greatness, 452; relations

to Lothair II., 453; to Eastern Church, 454.
Nicholas II., Forged Decretals, 449.
Nicholas of Cusa, on Donation of Constantine, 158; on Forged Decretals, 451.
Norma, conferred on Church, 129.
Northalbingians, 183.

"Octavius" of Minucius Felix, 83, 84.
Odo of Clugny, 373.
Odoacer the Herulian, 27, 29, 91; overthrown, 92.
Offa, Bretwalda, 292, 340.
Olaf, of Sweden, 417.
Olaf Skötkonung, 418.
Olaf the Holy, 418.
Ommiads, overthrown, 165.
Orleans, school at, 353.
Orte, occupied by Liutprand, 126; restored, 128.
Ostrogothic kingdom, 31; conversion, 44, 51, 52.
Otfried of Weissenberg, 357.
Otgar, archbishop of Mainz, 431.
Ottilo, duke of Bavarians, 110.
Otto I., 224, 375, footnote, 456.

Paderborn, diet of, 233; under Mainz, 274.
Palestine, Mahometan, 64.
Pallium, the, 22, 276.
Papacy. See Rome, Church of.
Paris, Council of, 40.
Paris, University of, 303, 304, 389; investiture of Louis, 392 sq.
Paschal I., 383, 387; death, 393.
Paschal II., 449.
Paschal, anti-pope, canonization of Charles, 299.
Paschasius Radbertus, 266; eucharistic controversy, 363 sq.
Passau, bishopric, 75.
"Patriarch," title, 23, footnote.
"Patrician of the Romans," 138, 139, 202, 204.
Patrick, St., 54, 343, 344, 373, 374.
Paul I., 139; succession, 152; letters to Pippin, 153; on Roman supremacy, 283.
Paulicians, 82, 83.
Paulinus, of York, 316.
Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, 268, 323.
Paul the Deacon, 323, 324, 338; on Charles, 240, 241.
Paulus Diaconus. See Paul the Deacon.
Pavia, siege of, 146, 196.
"Peace, The," 421.
Pecock, on Donation of Constantine, 158.
Pelagius I., 346.
Pelagius II., on Franks, 97.
Persia, Mahometan, 64.
Peter Comeston, on Forged Decretals, 450.
Peter Damiani, 421.
Peter of Pisa, 323, 324.
Petersburg, monastery, 357.
Photius, relations to Nicholas I., 454.
Pippin, Donation of, 136 sq.
Pippin, father of Charles, 57, 76, 102, 103; synod at Soissons, 106; conquers Bavarians, 111; defence of Neustria, 111, 112; receives Karlmann's kingdom, 112; relations to Grifo, 113; puts down Saxon revolt, 113; coronation, 117 sq.; characteristics, 122; peace of united kingdoms, 122; relations to Stephen III., 132 sq.; fresh revolt of Saxons, 133, 134; meeting with Stephen, 134, 135; promises aid, 135; consecration, 138; "Patrician of the Romans," 138, 139; overtured by Karlmann, 140; orders him to Vienne, 141; attacks Aistulf, 141; fresh appeals from

pope, 142; deaf ear, 143; letter from St. Peter, 145; crosses Alps again, 146; foundation of temporal power, 147 sq.; return, 151; letters from Paul I., 153; war with Aquitania, 161; at Verneuil, 162; relations to emperor, 164, 165; to Almansor, 165; his work, 166, 167; death 161, 167; division of kingdom, 167; attempt to establish metropolitan centres, 277.
Pippin of Heristal, 3, 42, 59, 60.
Pippin of Lansten, 3, 41, 42.
Pippin, son of Charles, King of Italy, 236, 293; early career, 293; kingdom, 295; relations to Leo, 296; death, 296.
Pippin, son of Louis the Pious, 378, 379, 385; rebellion, 404; restores father to rights, 404, 405; new division of territory, 405; anger, 405; fresh rebellions, 406, 407; to the rescue of his father, 407; submission of Lothair, 407; death, 409.
Pippin, son of above, 409; joins with Lothair, 411.
Pirminius, 77.
Pius IX., on Boniface, 79.
Plato, study of, in time of Charles, 320.
Poitiers, battles of, 31, 87, 101.
"Pope," history of term, 23.
Porphyry, 336.
Precarium, 62.
Predestination controversy, 368 sq.
Primogeniture, 378, 384.
Probus, 358.
Provincia, 33.
Prudentius of Troyes, on Scotus, 367; predestination controversy, 370; dogmatist, 371.
Pseudo Isidore, 23, 287, 425, 426, 427 sq.

Rabanus, Maurus, 266, 296, 353; "Veni Creator," 271; life, 354; characteristics, 355, 356; monastic work, 357; loyal to Louis, 358; retirement, 358; regard for Louis the German, 358; bishop of Mainz, 359; eucharistic controversy, 364; relations to Gottschalk, 369, 370; influence, 373.
Rachis, King of Lombards, 119; retirement, 129.
Radbertus, Paschasius, 266; eucharistic controversy, 363 sq.; on miraculous delivery of Mary, 365.
Rashdall, on schools of Charles, 303.
Rathbod, King of Friesians, 59, 69.
Ratisbon, bishopric, 75.
Ratramnus, 266; eucharistic controversy, 364; against Radbert, 365; defends the Church, 454.
Ravenna, attacked, 128; fall, 130, 131.
Ravenna, archbishop of, 277.
Reccared, conversion, 51, 269; anointed, 120.
Redfield, 406.
Regensberg, assembly in, 267.
Regensberg, bishopric, 75.
"Regulation of the empire," 385, 388.
Reichenau, monastery, 77.
Relics, 81.
Remi of Auxerre, 373.
Remigius, bishop of Rheims, 121.
Remigius of Lyons, 370.
Reminghad, 373.
"Republic or Rome," 150.
Rheims, power, 276; school at, 353; synod of, 449.
Richbon of Treves, 268.
Ripuarians, 27, 28, 32.
Rois Fainéants, 41, 114 sq.
Roland, death, 235.
Roman Constitution, 394 sq.
Rome, Church of, struggle with

Constantinople, 4; increasing power, 4, 5, 19 sq., 93 sq., 136, 146 sq., 158 sq.; states of the Church and temporal power, 5, 93 sq., 147 sq.; feudal relations, 36, 37, 419 sq.; alliance with Franks, 45; connection with state, 46 sq., 93 sq.; demoralization, 52 sq.; relations to Charles Martel, 60 sq., 67; strengthened by Mahometan conquest of Eastern patriarchates, 64, 100; oath of Boniface, 71, 72; from time of Theodoric, 93 sq., 99; significance of Pippin's coronation, 118, 119; first anointing among Franks, 121; independence result of clashing rival powers, 124; iconoclastic controversy, 124; political interests, 125; Donation of Pippin, 136 sq.; "Patrician of the Romans," 138, 139; foundation of temporal power, 147 sq.; Donation of Constantine, 155 sq.; facts regarding temporal power, 158 sq.; results, 159, 160; relations with Charles, 171, 172, 290; effect of Frankish-Lombard marriage alliances, 190 sq.; Donation of Charles, 196, 200, 201; bound up in new empire, 218, 219; metropolitan system, 276 sq.; letter of Hadrian on supremacy, 282; Paul I. on same, 283; acknowledged as centre and head, 286; influence of Charles, 300, 302; power of hierarchy, 377; election of popes, 382; Donation of Louis, 383; growth of rival imperial and papal parties, 392 sq.; Roman Constitution, 394 sq.; feudalism, 419 sq.; Forged Decretals, 287, 425, 426, 427 sq., 447 sq., 450; height of papacy, 452 sq.; subsequent weakness, 436. See Bishop; Charles the Great; Charles Martel; Gregory I.; Gregory II.; Gregory III.; Hadrian I.; Louis the Pious; Stephen III.; Zacharias.

Rome, city, attacked by Lombards, 142, 144, 145.

Rome, duke of, 128, 133.

Rome, empire, legacy to new peoples of the West, 8 sq.; reasons for disorganization, 10 sq.

Rome, patriarchate, 18.

Rome, "Republic of," 150.

Rothard, Duke, 133.

Rothard of Soissons, 449, 455.

Rothrud, betrothed to Constantine, 212, 261.

Rudolph, brother of Judith, 404.

Rudolph, successor of Rabanus, 357.

Rugians, conversion, 44.

Sabellianism, 264.

Sacramentary of Gregory, 283.

St. Gall, monastery, 56, 77, 345.

Saints, veneration of, 81.

Salians, 27, 28.

Salzburg, bishopric, 75; ecclesiastical jurisdiction, 275.

Sarabians, 293.

Saracens, 26, 51; occupy Sicily, 218. See Mahometans.

Saragossa, Charles at, 234.

Sardican canons, 22, 287.

Saxons, attack Charles Martel, 65, 66; Boniface among, 71; rebellions, 110, 113, 134, 161; wars with Charles, 172 sq.; subjection, 176 sq.; capitularies, 177 sq.; surrender, 181; fresh revolts and subjections, 182, 183; final overthrow, 184; missions among, 184 sq.

Schaff, on Forged Decretals, 436.

Scotland, conversion, 55.

Scotus, John, eucharistic controversy, 364; wonder of age, 365, 366; books, 367; philoso-

phy, 367, 368; predestination controversy, 368 sq.; closing days, 372, 373.
Scriptures, translated under Louis, 352.
Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, on images, 82.
Sergius I., 69.
Sergius, librarian, 393.
Sergius, papal legate, 111.
"Servant of the Servants of God," 23, footnote.
Servatus Lupus, 357, 359, 361 sq., 370, 449.
Sicily, 124, 218.
Sigulfus, 373.
Slavs, invasions, 375.
Soissons, council at, 106, 107, 448.
Spain, Church of, 263, 264.
Spain, expedition of Charles into, 233 sq.
Spoleto, duke of, relations to papacy, 125, 126, 128, 152, 153, 197; attacked by Liutprand, 126.
States of the Church, 5.
Stephen II., 131.
Stephen III., relations to Aistulf, 131 sq., 140 sq.; to Pippin, 132 sq.; crosses Alps, 133; meeting with Pippin, 134, 135; aid promised by Pippin, 135; consecrations, 138; confers title of Patrician of the Romans on kings, 138, 139, 202; threatened by Aistulf, 141, 142; fresh appeals to Pippin, 142 sq.; letter from St. Peter, 145; on Aistulf, 152; death, 152.
Stephen IV., wrath at proposed marriage of Frankish and Lombard families, 170; False Decretals, 449.
Stephen V., 381; crowns Louis, 382; election of popes, 382; death, 383.
Stephen of Tournay, on Forged Decretals, 451.
Stilicho, 28.
Strabo, Walafrid, 324, 357.
Stubbs, on Ebgert, 318.
Sturm, missionary, 186, 188.
Suevi, conversion, 44.
Sutri, granted to Gregory, 100.
Sutri, synod of, 456.
Sweden, mission work in, 416, 417.
Syagrius, 29.

Tarik, 64.
Tassilo, son of Ottilo, 114, 169, 190, 194, 237, 290, 293.
Tertullian, 19.
Testry, battle of, 42.
Theoderic, son of Charles, 380, 387, 388.
Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, 69, 70, 333.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 347.
Theodore, prince of papal palace, 392.
Theodore, the philosopher, 312, 315; Saxon chronicle on, 316.
Theodoret, against Cyril, 347.
Theodoric, 27, 30, 31, 33, 91; King of the Romans, 92; death, 92.
Theodoric IV., 103, 114.
Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, 340, 349, 351, 353, 359, 381, 387, 388, 420.
Theophanes, on relations of Charles to East, 216, 222, 268, 270.
Thietberga, wife of Lothair II., 453.
Thietgaut, of Trèves, 453.
Thionville, synod, 441.
Thuringia, 33, 70.
Tithes, 283.
Toto, duke, 160.
Transubstantiation, 265, 363 sq.
Trèves, ecclesiastical position, 276.
"Truce of God," 422.
Turrian, False Decretals, 451.

Ulfilas, 30, 43.

Urban II., claim to Corsica, 157.
Urolf, archbishop of Lorch, 419.
Utrecht, under Hildibald, 274.

Valens, defeated by barbarians, 26; Arian, 44.
Valentine I., 397.
Valentinian, edict of, 123.
Valla, Lamentius, on Donation of Constantine, 158.
Vandals, 26; conversion, 44.
Vasconia, 55.
Venetia, Grecian possession, 218.
"Veni Creator Spiritus," 271.
Verden, massacre, 180; under Mainz, 274.
Verdun, treaty, 360, 413.
Verneuil, council, 162.
"Vicar of Peter," 24, footnote.
Villedaigne, battle, 294.
Virgin, worship of, 81.
Visigoths, 26, 29, 31; Arian, 44, 51; Fardolin among, 55; Mahometan conquest of, 64; orthodox, 264.
Vitalian, pope, 70.

Waifar, son of Hunold, 112, 114, 161, 168.
Waitz, on coronation of Charles, 221.
Wala, abbot, 408.
Wala, count, 380, 388, 389, 393.
Walafrid, on Charles, 324; pupil of Rabanus, 357.
Waldrada, 453.
Wasserschleben, on Forged Decretals, 449.
Wearmouth, monastery, 313, 316.
Werden, Monastery, 188.
Whitby, council of, 56, 70, 311, 347.
Wilfrid, 316, 317.
Willehad, missionary, 186, 189.
William of Malmesbury, on Scotus, 372.
Willibrod, missionary, 59, 60, 69, 71.
Winfrid. See Boniface.
Winnigis, 381.
Witmar, monk, 416.
Wittekind, 176, 180, 181; baptized, 182.
Wulfhold, 387.
Würzburg, bishopric, 76.

Yarrow, monastery, 313, 316.
York, school of, 316 sq.; archbishopric, 317.

Zacharias, pope, 78; on second German synod, 106; reply to Pippin's question, 117; elevation and characteristics, 127; treaty with Liutprand, 128; receives Mirfa and Norma, 129; renouncement of Karlmann and Rachis, 129; relations to Aistulf, 130; death, 131.

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